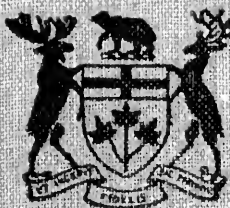


THE ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND



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GEORGE V OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE
SEAS, KING, EMPEROR OF INDIA, AND
HIS CONSORT, QUEEN MARY

ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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AUTHORIZED BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION FOR ONTARIO

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

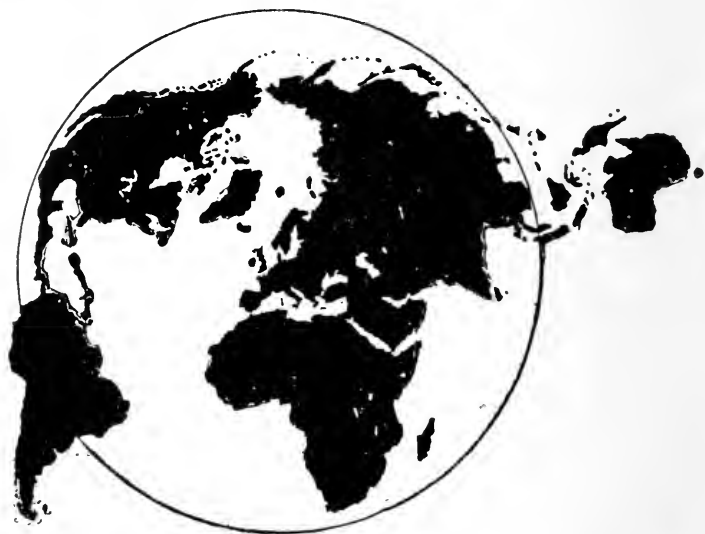
GEOGRAPHY AND RACE

1. THE ISLAND STATE AND ITS RESOURCES

Britain, "The Mother of Parliaments."—THE British Isles include less than one four-hundred-and-thirtieth part of the habitable globe, yet probably no other land has had such a wide influence upon mankind. Britain has surpassed even Rome, the greatest of ancient empires. Though Rome matured an impressive system of law and discipline, she did not mature freedom. She conquered many states, but she did not found new nations of her own blood. What Rome failed to do, Britain has done. She is the mother of free institutions, for it was she who first built up the system of representative government. She has also established, all over the world, great daughter states and trained them in her own free principles.

The central position of Britain.—To the ancient world Britain always seemed remote. The islands were often wrapped in fog, and had what southern peoples thought a harsh climate. Not until Christian civilization reached northern Europe did Britain become important. Then she was no longer lost in pagan isolation, and began to play a greater part in the world. The sea, which seemed to separate her from Europe, really gave her ships access to all its shores. Germany, France, Spain, and Italy could be reached without difficulty, as soon as the people of Britain learned to be at home on the water. When, in due time, America

was discovered, Britain, which once had been only a distant land off the coast of Europe, was found to occupy a central position on the globe. She lay between Europe and America, and was soon in touch with the New World as well as with the Old. A study of her position on the map will show how natural it was that she should then become the centre of world commerce.



THE LAND HEMISPHERE, SHOWING THE CENTRAL POSITION OF BRITAIN

The three political divisions.—The three political divisions—England, Ireland, and Scotland—were, until modern times, separate kingdoms, often at strife with each other. Because the western shores of England are mountainous, few influences have reached her from that side. It is on the side nearest Europe that England is open. The majority of her rivers empty on that coast; there, too, is her most fertile land, and no ranges of mountains bar the way to the interior. The north of Scotland is also mountainous, and thus hard of access, while Ireland, except for the coast of Meath, on the side near England, has a cordon of moun-

tains surrounding the great boggy plain of the interior. It is not strange, then, that England, easily entered from Europe, and with no natural barriers to check advance, should have attracted assailants when Ireland and Scotland escaped. But her misfortunes brought some advantage; far more than either of her neighbours, she felt the stimulating influence of contact with other peoples.

Climate.—"Father Ocean," it has been said, "has a bias towards England." The influence of the Gulf Stream which washes her shores, brings a mild climate to latitudes that in America are Arctic. It is strange to think that London is in the same latitude as parts of Hudson Bay. England rarely has severe cold. The average difference of temperature between the warmest and the coldest months of the year is not more than 25° ; and changes in the seasons are so slight that her people can live an outdoor life throughout the year. There is, for instance, no month when rowing wholly ceases on the Thames. Winds are stronger and more rain falls in England than in the adjacent regions of the continent. Charles II, who had dwelt in many lands, said that the best climate was one which permitted men to be abroad with pleasure, or at least without trouble and inconvenience, for the most days of the year and the most hours of the day. This condition, he thought, prevailed in England more than in any other country in Europe, and without doubt it has helped to make the English an active race.

The abundant rain helps to fertilize the soil; an English summer landscape has usually a wealth of green turf and of beautiful trees, shrubs, and flowers. The most useful domestic animals thrive in the English climate; thus the English race-horse and the short-horned Durham cattle represent the finest types of their species. The rich pasturage favours especially the rearing of sheep; English wool has for centuries been recognized as of superior quality, and its manufacture has long been a great industry. On the other hand, England has too much rain and too little sunshine to produce delicate fruits; the grape does not

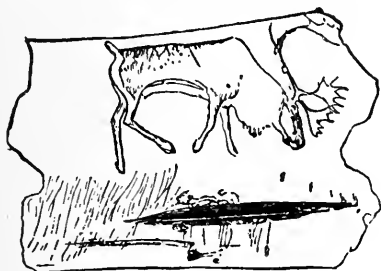
flourish there, and the climate strikes the people of southern Europe as gloomy and depressing.

Natural resources.—Nature has not bestowed her favours equally upon the three divisions. Ireland possesses slight mineral wealth; she is without the iron and the coal necessary for a varied industrial life, and linen is the only great manufacture in which she leads. One seventh of Ireland is bog. The abundant rainfall, which clothes the country in a rich verdure, robs it of sunshine, and makes the harvest season so late that sometimes wheat and oats are not reaped until October and November. Ireland is chiefly a grazing country and rears nearly as many horned cattle as England. Scotland, too, has spare natural gifts. The rugged Highlands of the north, more than one half her soil, give but a scanty reward to agriculture, and are not rich in minerals. In the south, also, are barren uplands, rising sometimes to the height of 3,000 feet. Between these regions, however, lie the Lowlands, only about one sixth of Scotland, but so rich in soil and in mineral treasures as to be the most important part of the country. Because coal and iron are found there close together, great industries have sprung up, chief among them the ship-building of the Clyde. England (including Wales) is the largest, the most fertile, and the most varied in mineral wealth, of the three divisions of the United Kingdom. She has rich supplies of nearly every mineral of economic value. Though, for long centuries, England's wealth lay in agriculture, in modern times her minerals have made the manufactures of first importance. The toilers in her factories have so increased in number that regions sparsely settled two hundred years ago, now have a dense population, and she is dependent upon other countries for much of her supply of wheat.

2. THE RACES OF BRITAIN

Palæolithic man.—The earliest inhabitants of Britain were short and dark, in appearance not unlike the Eskimos of to-day. They hunted animals that have long since vanished

from Britain, the reindeer and the musk-ox, the elephant, the mammoth, and the lion. In winter they lived in caves



THE HIGHEST EXAMPLE OF PALÆOLITHIC ART
Incised on an antler found in a cave.

and in summer under trees. At first they did not know how to make such weapons as axes, and bows and arrows, and used only the clubs and stones which lay about them. They treated their dead as carrion, throwing the bodies out with other refuse. As time went

on, they improved and made axes and spear-heads and arrow-heads of chipped stone; they showed, too, an artistic sense, for, on the bones which lay about them in their cave-dwellings, they scratched some vigorous drawings of the mammoth, the horse, and the reindeer. We call their culture Palæolithic (old stone), because their stone implements belong to the very oldest period in man's history.

Neolithic man.—Later, a second race, apparently from the south or south-east, came to dwell in the islands. These were not mere hunters. They had learned to grind stones into hatchets and arrow-heads, sometimes beautiful in shape. They seem to have tilled the ground. They spent infinite labour in cutting down forest trees with stone axes, for they had no metal tools.

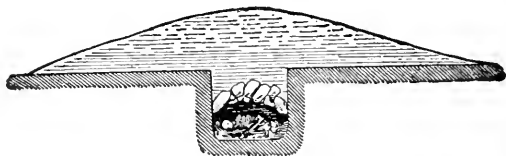


NEOLITHIC HATCHET
IMBEDDED IN HANDLE

They had dogs, horses, pigs, goats, and oxen, for domestic animals. They wove cloth. They erected stone houses, and showed reverence for their dead by putting them in tombs of stone. This second race belongs to the Neolithic (new stone) age; though they still used only stone implements, these were of a newer type and highly finished.

The Celts.—Even this Neolithic race in Britain was at

length overcome by a third race, the Celtic Britons, who were masters of the islands when the Romans first made the country known to the civilized world. Probably they came from the north, but we are not sure. At any rate, they were far in advance of the earlier races, and cannot be ranked as savages. They had bronze, and even iron, implements.



SECTION OF ROUND BARROW SHOWING SKELETON

They were skilled in making pottery. They were skilled, too, in agriculture, and in time carried on trade with the continent of Europe. Across the Channel, in Gaul, dwelt a people kindred to them in blood, and both branches of the race were formidable in war. When the curtain is lifted on early Britain, we find its Celtic people in the height of their vigour. They were divided into tribes, often at bitter strife with each other.

The Teutons.—Then, about the beginning of the Christian era, came the Romans. Their legions were masters of Britain during some four centuries, but that was all; they added no new element to the races of Britain. When they withdrew in the fifth century, conquerors from the north appeared, the tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed barbarians known in history as Germans, or Teutons. They still occupy the best parts of Britain, for the Englishman of to-day is their descendant. The British people are a mixed race. England and the southern part of Scotland are peopled chiefly by these latest comers, the Teutons, from northern Europe. In the other regions, including Ireland, still dwell the descendants of the Celts, who may have intermingled with the two earlier races that were in the island before they came.

The Briton of the present day.—The pirate Teuton, who became master of Britain, has, in the course of the history

which we are now to study, become the modern "John Bull," the typical Englishman. He is ruddy, broad-shouldered, in every way solid, a plain man, well-to-do, fond of his own comfort. Though he cares little for intellectual things, he is honest, resolute, and loyal, anxious to do his duty, and good-natured, though sometimes irritable and unreasonable. Such is the picture which the Englishman likes to draw of his own average self. The Scot, in the rugged northern half of the island, has carried on a stern war with nature, and has acquired, in consequence, the enterprise and alertness which make him a successful colonist. He has, also, keen insight and acute powers of thought. Yet he failed to produce as advanced a culture as the English. Of Ireland the earlier history differs strangely from the later. Even Rome did not conquer Ireland, and she suffered little from the Northmen when they desolated England. Conquest came, when, in the twelfth century, the weak state of Ireland gave the English aggressor his opportunity. She had preserved the old Celtic clan system which divided the land among a number of powerful tribes. Thus she lacked unity among her own people, and was not strong enough to throw off her assailant. Since that time the bitter strife between the English and the Irish has gone on. Hospitable, gay, shrewd, and witty, as are the Irish people, and in no sense inferior to their neighbours in mind or body, they yet reveal in national character consequences of the tragedy of their history. Irish society shows to this day the cleavage between the conquering and the conquered race. In no other country of Europe have poverty and famine wrought such havoc. These evils have forced her people to emigrate in numbers so great that Ireland has now only about half the population she had seventy years ago.

The British love of outdoor pursuits.—The classes which have led in English life have never been dwellers in towns. Except for a few months in the London season, they still prefer the country, and they relieve the monotony of rural life by outdoor pastimes. This taste for sport is, indeed, a national characteristic. The climate, though mild, is severe

enough to encourage action rather than voluptuous ease. English youth play boisterous games, and the hardy pleasures of the hunting field have many devotees. M. Taine, an acute French critic, found that the men and women of England were more robust and had less sensitive nerves than the people of France, and that even the horses were larger and stronger. An English artisan, the same writer thought, could work without fatigue longer than a Frenchman, and could in a day accomplish twice as much with his hands as his foreign rival. Operations in English hospitals are less

frequently fatal than are those of the same class in France. The islanders, while lacking in some of the finer qualities of wit and artistic insight, are a vigorous type, full of energy, delighting in strong meat and drink.



"JOHN BULL"
From *Punch*.

The energy of the British.—It is this quality of energy that has carried the British as pioneers to all parts of the world. No other European race travels so much. The average Englishman uses the railway seven times as often as does the Frenchman. From pure love of action the Englishman explores the least-known regions of the earth. He is eager for facts and reality, but impatient of theory. In political life the nation has fixed its

attention upon the thing which could be done at the time, and has cared little to be logical. The type has its defects. Strength of purpose makes the Englishman masterful and sometimes exacting, so that he is respected rather than loved by other nations. He lives upon an island, and is himself insular, self-contained, often indeed, hard, cold, and unsympathetic. His demeanour is grave. In contrast with the Frenchman and the Italian, no anim-

ated gesture accompanies his speech, which is low in tone, laconic, and direct. Beneath this impassive surface often lie strong affections and deep beliefs. Christian faith and hope have played, and still play, a large part in the nation's life.

The population of Britain.—At the Norman conquest the population of England appears to have been rather more than two million. Ireland and Scotland were relatively more populous then than now, and perhaps the islands had, in all, three or three and a half millions of people. The mediæval period saw only a slight change, but, since the reign of Henry VII, the population has steadily increased, excepting Ireland, where, during the past seventy years, it has declined. The two islands now contain about 45,000,000 people. Probably 15,000,000 people of British descent live in other parts of the empire which Britain has built up, and their fellow-subjects of different origin number, in addition, some 350,000,000.

The English tongue.—The inhabitants of this empire speak a great variety of languages. English is the mother tongue of nearly 60,000,000, and it is also the speech of the vast majority of the 93,000,000 of the United States. Yet, a hundred years ago, it was the tongue of little more than 20,000,000 in all. At base it is a Teutonic language, but it has added so many French and Latin elements that it is readily understood by the peoples of both northern and southern Europe. Already English is the dominant tongue in North America, Australasia, and South Africa; it is heard in every great seaport of the world, and tends to become the language of international commerce. By this ready medium English moral and political ideals are gaining ever wider currency. William the Conqueror ruled about 2,000,000 Englishmen; his successor now on the throne holds sway over more than one fifth of the earth's surface and over nearly one fourth of its inhabitants. The despised tongue of the people whom William conquered has become the language of a noble literature and of the two greatest commercial states of the world. It is the record

of these amazing changes which we are now to study. In reading the history of Rome we are haunted by the knowledge of ultimate failure. The story of Britain, on the other hand, is one of growing power to the highest point of achievement in the present.

TOPICS

I. How Britain, at first remote, came to occupy a central position. The results which have come from the differences in geographical position of England, Ireland and Scotland? The influence of the climate on national character. England's greater riches in natural resources compared with those of Ireland and Scotland.

II. Why the "old stone" and "new stone" people were weaker than the Celts. What regions the Celts and the Teutons now occupy. The characteristics of the Englishman and of the Scot and the Irishman. The activity of the British; its causes and results. How to account for the growth of population, and the spread of the English language.

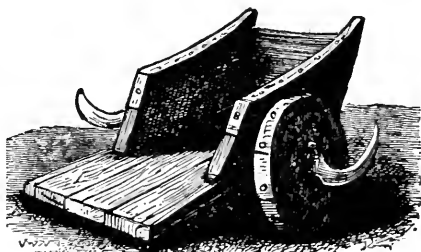
CHAPTER II

BRITAIN BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Culture in ancient Britain.—Britain was little known to Europe in ancient times. Its traders hardly went beyond the neighbouring coasts of Gaul, and when an occasional traveller came to Britain it was in much the same spirit of adventure that the Briton himself now shows when he seeks the wilds of Africa.

Yet the Britons had already something like civilization. Visitors to the island were surprised at the large population, the many villages, the herds of cattle, and the extensive cultivation of grain. In the south



CONJECTURAL BRITISH WAR CHARIOT

and west were tin and lead mines. The Britons made coarse cloth, and delighted to array themselves in its flaming colours. The men wore long hair and shaved their faces, with the exception of the upper lip. Hospitality, a frequent virtue of rude peoples, was general, and music and athletic games aided the entertainment of the guests. Though vigorous in war, the Britons were not an industrious race; like the Gauls, their neighbours, they were vain, idle, and quarrelsome.

Druidism.—The British tribes were ruled by princes, whose power was great, but not absolute, for the freemen of the tribe decided important matters. Their religion, Druidism,

still remains vague and almost unknown to us. The priests professed to know how the sun and stars influence

man's destiny. They taught that the soul lives after death. The Druids worshipped, not in temples built by man, but in oak groves; and the worshippers looked upon ghastly spectacles, when Druid priests, offered in sacrifice condemned criminals, who were confined in huge wicker baskets and burned. The priests surrounded themselves with mystery, taught their students in the seclusion



BRITONS, SHOWING NATIVE COSTUME

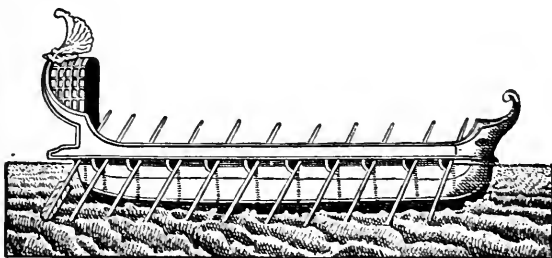
of remote forests, and would not commit Druid doctrines to writing, lest the mysteries should be learned from any one but the priests. These were the schoolmasters of the Britons; and it was before them too that accused persons appeared. In time of danger Druid bards went about the country, and with verse and song aroused the warlike passions of the people.

The coming of Julius Cæsar, 55 B.C.—Into this rude world penetrated at last the imperial Roman. When Julius Cæsar had conquered Gaul, a further task lay before him. Beyond Gaul was Britain, which might become a refuge for the defeated



JULIUS CÆSAR (100-44 B.C.)

Gauls. Cæsar wished to judge for himself, and, in the summer of 55 B. C., he made a hurried expedition across the Straits of Dover. After a short campaign, he retired, but returned in the next year with a force numbering more than 25,000 men. The Britons, warring among themselves and awed by the discipline of the Roman legions, promised to pay tribute to Rome, and gave hostages for their good faith. After this submission the Roman general once more withdrew. When the news became known at Rome, the senate decreed twenty days of thanksgiving for Cæsar's new and glorious conquest, and Britain became, and long remained, a province of the Roman empire.



ROMAN SEA-GOING GALLEY

The Roman Conquest.—For ninety years no attempt was made to hold Britain in real subjection. The country was poor and offered little to the ambition of a Roman proconsul. But, at length, in A. D. 43, Rome took up seriously the task of conquest, and the emperor Claudius himself made the journey to the remote island. The Britons did not yield without a fierce struggle, but they were no match for the disciplined legions of Rome. Caradoc, or Caractacus, leader of the Silures, the most stubborn of the tribes, was taken, through treachery, about 51, and carried in chains to Rome. The conquerors behaved with ruthless brutality. They publicly flogged Boadicea, widow of the chief of the Iceni, a British tribe, and subjected her and her two daughters to vile outrage. Maddened by this brutality, the Britons for a time swept everything before them and destroyed thousands

of the Romans. At length, however, Rome prevailed, but only after terrible slaughter. In 62, Boadicea appears to have ended her own life by poison.

The Roman Wall.—Agricola, a famous Roman general, who commanded in Britain from 78 to 84, tried to rule justly. Some of the people had been the victims of gross fraud. The law required them to pay a part of their taxes in grain, and corrupt Roman officials bought up all the supply and forced the British to buy it back at a high price. Agricola checked this and many other abuses. He wished to gain control of the two islands, but he could not

subdue the fierce Picts of Caledonia, the present Scotland, or carry an army across the sea to Ireland. To keep back the Picts, Agricola built a line of forts from the Clyde to the Forth, but the barbarians would not let Rome hold even so much, and, in the end, she had to be content with a boundary some fifty miles farther south. Here the emperor Hadrian, who visited Britain, thought it wise to fix the frontier, and accordingly he began, about 120, to build a wall from the Solway to the Tyne (Carlisle to Newcastle). To this day much of this wall remains, impressive even in its ruins. York, in the north, was conveniently situated to check barbarian inroads, and became the military capital. London, in the south, near the mouth of the Thames

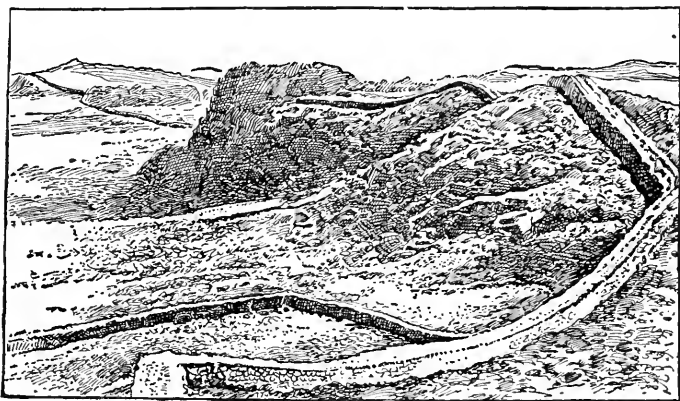


ROMAN SOLDIER

and within easy reach of the continent, was the chief trading centre.

Roman civilization in Britain.—Until 400, Rome continued to rule Britain. She maintained her control with twenty thousand or more troops. The enslaved inhabitants were forced to work in the mines and to till the soil for their conquerors. Yet the Romans did much to make the people of

Britain civilized. They cleared forests, and brought new land under cultivation. A great trade in wheat grew up between Britain and the Roman colonies on the Rhine. The Romans introduced the beech-tree, and, for centuries to come, the nuts of the beech forests helped to feed great herds of swine. Roman justice was stern, but it may well have been better than anything the Britons had known in earlier days. For the time, tribal wars disappeared. The conqueror built towns and taught to the Britons Roman manners and Roman luxury; in amphitheatres, traces of which still remain, the islanders saw the same cruel sports which

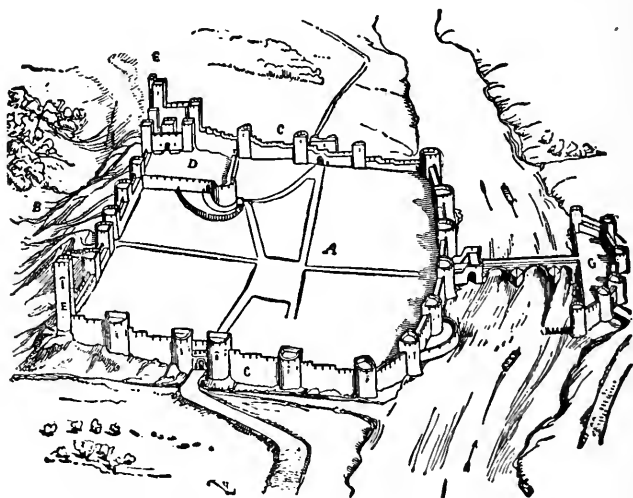


PART OF THE ROMAN WALL AT THE PRESENT DAY

amused Rome itself: gladiators fighting for life, wild beasts struggling with each other, or destroying their human victims. Palaces and villas of stone, scattered over the whole land, revealed the wealth of the master, while his British slaves lived in squalid hovels, often propped against the outer walls of their lord's dwelling. The shivering Romans met the chill of the northern winter with furnaces and hot water pipes in their houses. They constructed luxurious baths, on a scale, trifling indeed as compared with those of Rome, but magnificent for a remote province. The Romans built, probably by the labours of the enslaved

Britons, great, straight roads which still endure,—four converging at London, three at Chester, two at Bath,—partly to aid trade, but mainly, we may believe, for moving troops easily, and thus holding in check the conquered tribes.

Roman influence on the Britons.—Probably few Romans of the first rank ever dwelt in Britain. Officials, traders, and soldiers went there and ruled by right of superior education and organization. Yet the Romans did not master the Britons as they mastered the Gauls. While the natives of



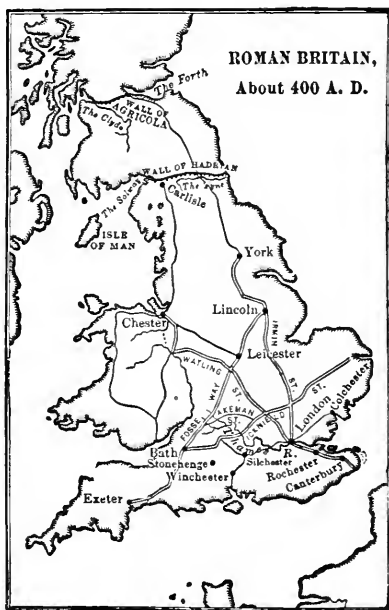
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ROMAN PLAN OF A TOWN

A, the Town ; B, the Escarpment ; C C, the Walls ; D, the Castle ;
E E, the Watch-Towers

Gaul forgot their tongue to speak that of Rome, the Britons never gave up their own speech. It is true that a few chieftains adopted the language and dress of the conqueror, and even learned to boast of a Roman pedigree; but the mass of the Britons remained alien from Rome in speech and thought. They were under an iron heel. The tax-gatherer did his sordid work, and the burden became ever more oppressive, especially for the well-to-do citizens of the

towns, who were forced to pay as long as they could find means. Occasionally an emperor, ambitious to survey even the outlying parts of his dominions, went to Britain, and gave the island a passing importance by his presence. Every year the conscription carried off drafts of British recruits to fight for Rome in Gaul and Spain, on the Danube, and the far-off Euphrates. On the other hand, Christian missionaries preached their faith in Britain, and many of the Roman masters, and their British dependents and slaves, became followers of Christ.

The withdrawal of Rome.—The Picts from the north, the Scots from what is now Ireland, Saxons from across the North Sea, assaulted the Roman power, and sometimes advanced as far as London. Towards the end of the fourth century, the rule of Rome had become very weak. More than one rebel general was proclaimed emperor in Britain by his soldiers, and crossed to Gaul, resolved to march on Rome itself. By 400 the course of Imperial Rome was well-nigh run. The Goths, a half-savage Teutonic tribe, were hovering on the Italian frontier. At length, in the earlier years of the fifth century, the Gothic leader, Alaric, poured his hosts into Italy. The Roman court found a secure refuge behind the marshes of Ravenna, while Alaric pressed on to besiege Rome itself. To meet the peril, the troops had already been recalled from Britain.



At length in 410, the civilized world was horror-stricken by the fall and sack of Rome, and the islanders were left to their fate.

2. THE ENGLISH CONQUEST

The invasion by Picts and Scots.—The Romans had found the Britons a warlike people, but they left them enfeebled by long bondage. Wild neighbours, who had never known the yoke of Rome, soon attacked the land of the Britons, a region more inviting than their own. We know little of this new invasion. The Picts from the north were the strongest assailants, while the Scots from Ireland* made a comparatively feeble attack, owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of sending a force across the Irish Sea. The Britons appealed to Rome for aid, since the country still remained in name a Roman province, but Rome could do nothing, and Vortigern, the British ruler, finally sought new allies.

The coming of the Teutons.—The coasts of Britain had long been troubled by pirates who came across the North Sea. They were Germans or Teutons, of the same stock as the Goths who had struck such a deadly blow to Rome's power in Italy. Now Vortigern asked their aid against his foes. They came, drove back the Picts, and then, resolving to hold the land for themselves, attacked Vortigern. The Jutes, under their leaders, Hengist and Horsa, began the conquest and settlement of Kent about 449. In no long time the whole tribe, with their women, children, and cattle, had crossed to Britain. Their former home remained almost deserted, it is said, for two or three centuries.

Britain becomes England.—Jutes held Kent and the Isle of Wight. To the regions farther west, and also to the north of the Jutish settlement in Kent, went the Saxons, and still farther north settled other Germans, the Angles. It was these last who gave their name to the conquered country.

*There was later an extensive migration of Scots from Ireland to the country which then became known as Scotland.

For a long time, their land in the north was the most advanced in culture and their tongue, English, thus became the best known. It happened, that, as the recognized speech of the invaders was called English, they themselves were all known by that name, while the land, in time, was called England. What numbers came we do not know. Each band of invaders waged war for itself. Sometimes they fought with each other for the spoil.

More often the struggle was between the Teutonic Englishman and the Celtic Briton whom he was driving back. King Arthur, if not wholly a legendary person, appears to have been a Celtic leader in the south-west, who struggled with the invader in the first half of the sixth century. There was savage fury on both sides. Religious hate was added to the fiery strife of race; for the Britons had long been Christians, while their assailants were still pagan. The conflict lasted for a century and a half. On the east coast



the invaders found a means of access to the interior by way of the rivers, and this mode of advance was at length open to them on the west coast, when, in 577, they won, at Deorham, near Bristol, a victory which made them masters of the Severn valley. Not long after this battle their sway was almost undisputed over the greater part of Britain. The mountainous regions of Wales, of Cornwall, and of Devon, became the refuge of the Britons, and

there, to this day, dwell the descendants of the Celts whom the English conquerors drove from their homes.

The customs of the English.—The victors are the ancestors of by far the greater part of the English of the present day. The historian Tacitus, writing in the first century of the Christian era, when these bold Teutons of the far north were becoming known in Italy, professed to find in them a moral vigour that Rome had lost. It may be that the censorious Roman saw too clearly the vices of his countrymen, because near at hand, while those of the Teutons were softened by distance. He describes their powerful frames, their fierce love of war, their respect for women, and the purity of their social life. They preserved rude liberties which Rome had lost under her despotic emperors. The freemen gathered, from time to time, in public meeting, to settle important affairs, and it was they who chose the leaders in war. There is, however, another side to the picture. Though the proud warrior might love his personal liberty and excel in fighting, he scorned the labour of the field, and left it to women, old men, and slaves. He spent his leisure ignobly in drinking and gambling, and played games of chance to such an extent that he sometimes made his own liberty the stake, and became a slave when he lost.

The rule of the English.—The conquering Englishman, born in a rough country covered with timber and scrub, and barren heath and bog, found in Britain things new to him—fertile land, cleared, drained, and tilled in the Roman manner, orchards and vineyards, horses, cattle, sheep, and swine. There were walled towns and country houses, roads, bridges, lighthouses, harbours, mines, quarries, and fisheries. The English appear often to have killed ruthlessly the men whom they conquered. A few of the invaders married the women of the opposing race and in the veins of some of the next generation flowed the blood of both Celt and Teuton. The slave-trade flourished at the time. Without doubt some of the conquered Britons were sold; some, it may be, remained in bondage to the new English masters,

to till their fields and work their mines. Except in the mountainous regions of the west, they were everywhere supreme.

3. THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

Pope Gregory's mission to England.—From the third century, at least, there was a Christian church in Britain. We hear, in a vague way, that Alban, a Christian, put to death for his faith, about the year 300, was the first British martyr. When the English came, the land fell back once more into paganism, and only the Britons, driven into their mountains, remained Christian. Before the sixth century closed, however, missionaries came to convert the English. Gregory, a monk of noble birth, walking through the market place of Rome, saw some fair-haired children offered for sale. Struck by their beauty, he asked whence they came, and was told that they were Angles from Deira, a division of Britain, whose king was Ella. "They shall become fellow-heirs with the *angels*, snatched from wrath (*de ira*) to sing *Alleluia*," was Gregory's punning comment. Already he had sacrificed wealth and a great position to become a monk, and now, full of missionary zeal, he decided to go to distant England. He set out, but when the Roman populace, who had found him a leader in those troubled days, learned that he had gone, they raised a tumult and insisted that he should be recalled. Recalled he was, and, in 590, he became Pope.

The conversion of Kent.—The thoughts of Gregory still turned to England, and, when he could, he sent there a strong mission of about forty members, with Augustine, the abbot of a monastery at Rome, as its leader. After a journey which occupied a year, the missionaries reached Kent in 597. Its ruler, Ethelbert, was an able man, who had made his small state the strongest among the petty kingdoms of England. His wife Bertha, a member of the royal house in France, was a Christian. Since the Christian services held by Bertha's chaplain were familiar at the court, the path of the missionaries was already cleared.

Ethelbert received Augustine and his band with polite caution, and assigned them a lodging in his capital, Canterbury. Then, after a wise pause for reflection, he decided to accept Christianity. When he was baptized, the faith that had convinced the prince found easy acceptance among his obedient people. Kent became Christian in name; we hear of the baptism on one Christmas Day of no less than ten thousand converts.

The English accept Christianity.—Cheered by this first success, the missionaries pressed on to occupy more of the country, and found a ready welcome among the English. It was natural that they should seek to join forces with the church of the conquered Britons. This, however, was not easy. The British church followed its own mode of reckoning Easter and other customs differing from those of Rome. When Augustine, fresh from Rome, the great centre of church life, urged the Britons to conform to Roman usage, they rejected the demand with scorn, and broke off all intercourse with him. Meanwhile, the newcomers advanced to York, the ancient capital, and fixed upon it as the northern centre of their work. In some places paganism fought savagely for the old gods, Woden and Thor, but it had not strength to resist the vigour of the new faith. Within less than a hundred years after Augustine's landing, Christianity was accepted in all parts of England.

St. Patrick in Ireland.—Long before the mission of Augustine, Ireland had become Christian. In the history of missionary effort there is no nobler figure than that of St. Patrick. He was the son of a man of wealth who lived in the south of Scotland. When staying at his father's country house on the west coast, Patrick was carried off in a raid of Picts and Scots, who sold him as a slave in Ireland. Here he spent six long years in the hard labour of tending cattle. Adversity taught him deep lessons; he found much comfort in prayer, and in the end became a Christian. He escaped to France, and after engaging in study there returned to his own home. The pagan state of Ireland now troubled his mind, and at last he obeyed what seemed

a divine call to go there to teach the Christian faith. His zeal was well-fitted to win the rude, emotional, and generous people of Ireland, among whom idolatry had already declined. He respected their customs, mingled freely with all classes, and won success by his tact and zeal. When he died, in 463, he had visited every part of Ireland and had won the whole of Ulster. The island was almost free from the race struggle between Celt and Teuton which wasted Britain, and it soon developed a high type of missionary zeal. Thus it came about that, when the seventh century opened, the chief efforts to convert the neighbouring heathen peoples of Europe came from Ireland.

The conversion of Scotland.—Off the west coast of Scotland lies the tiny island, Iona, only a mile or two in area, but important in British history, for on this spot a missionary from Ireland, Columba, built, about 563, a monastery from which the teaching of the Christian faith spread to the pagan Highlands of Scotland. The Lowlands, we know in a dim way, had already been reached by an earlier teacher, Ninian. Missionaries from Iona went not only to the Highlands but also to the north of England. About 618, Oswald, a prince of Northumbria, one of the petty English kingdoms, fled to Iona from strife at home, and, when he was restored and became king, he asked Iona to send missionaries to teach his people. The gentle Aidan was chosen, and he made Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, a small islet off the east coast of England, a second Iona. Aidan and his band of followers travelled through Northumbria on foot, preaching in every village, and winning many converts. Soon these missionaries from the north met the Romans making their way from the south, and then conflict and rivalry followed.

The Council of Whitby.—The Irish clung to the peculiar customs which they shared with the older British church, while the Roman party, led by Wilfrid, a young English monk of noble birth, insisted upon uniformity, and demanded that the rude Irish should follow the example of cultivated Rome. A conference, under King Oswy of

Northumbria, was finally held at Whitby, in 664, to debate and settle the differences. For the Scots, Colman, the leader, pressed hard the point that his observance of Easter had the sanction of St. John. Wilfrid, on the other hand, urged that his customs were those of St. Peter, and that St. Peter had received the keys of heaven. The king, who assumed the right to decide the question, promptly said that he should not oppose the door-keeper of heaven, lest the gates might not open to him when he asked admission. On every point the Roman party triumphed. Rather than yield, most of the Irish retired and this gave Rome a free hand in organizing the English church. In 668, the Pope sent to England, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, a great man, with a genius for order and discipline. It was not long before he united the English christians, although many years were still to pass before there was a united English state.

The work of the Venerable Bede.—The church grew rapidly in authority, wealth, and culture. Kings bestowed upon it lands and tithes; dying sinners left to it their property to secure its prayers; rich men founded monasteries and gave lands for their support. In that age of rude violence these monasteries were havens of security and peace. We see in the case of the Venerable Bede (673-735) how, even in rough and stormy times, a student might lead a quiet life. Bede is the first great English scholar. His ancestors were no doubt among the pirates who, not so long before, had descended upon England; but Bede himself was refined and fit to rank among the scholars of any age. He spent his long life in the monastery at Jarrow in the north, delighting in the quiet routine of the cloister. There were daily services in the church. Already art had gained a footing in Britain. The windows were filled with stained glass and the walls adorned with pictures, the work of craftsmen from the continent, for the rude English were still too unskilled to do such tasks. Bede wrote many books. His "*Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*," full of stories exquisitely told, is the great work

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HER



from which we derive most of our knowledge of the early English. Bede translated part of the Bible into the English of the Angles, his people; and it is through work such as his that the tongue we speak to-day is known as English rather than by the name of one of the other tribes, Saxons, or Jutes. The six hundred monks at Jarrow taught the people agriculture, opened schools, and helped the poor and the sick, who were very numerous in that age of pestilence. The English even spared help for other lands. Light went forth from them to the dark places of Europe. Boniface and other English missionaries taught in Germany, and Charlemagne, who, in 800, became Roman emperor and the greatest ruler in Europe, chose an Englishman, Alcuin, to lead in his work of education.



BISHOP (about tenth century)

4. ALFRED THE GREAT

England divided into Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex.—The English had come to Britain in scattered groups, which gained a footing wherever they could drive back the Britons. These groups remained, for a time, independent of each other, often, indeed, turning their arms on one another. In order to retain control of the country, the invaders were obliged to unite, and, in time, we find them grouped together in small kingdoms. When these kingdoms numbered seven, England was called a "Heptarchy." The changes were ceaseless; sometimes there were more than seven divisions, sometimes fewer. For more than a hundred years the region north of the Humber—Northumbria—played the leading part. A large state, Mercia, grew up

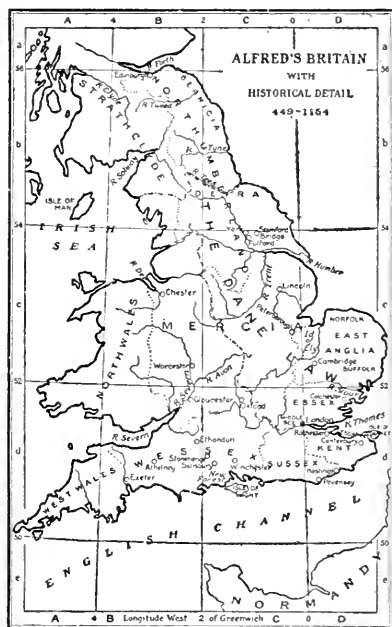
in the very centre of England. In the south, the foremost state was Wessex, with Winchester as its capital. As long, however, as even three divisions remained, the English were weak. In the end, pressure from the invader united them under one leader.

The beginning of the Danish invasion, 787.—In 787, pagan pirates out of the north, such as the English themselves had once been, began to trouble England. They came from the coasts of Scandinavia and Denmark and are known to us usually by the name of Danes. They had boats so light in draught that they could take them far up the rivers into the interior. Upon landing, their usual practice was to entrench themselves at some place difficult of access, and to send out parties to pillage the country. When they could, they seized the available horses, and thus were able to advance rapidly and to retire quickly. At first, they were robbers and destroyers, who butchered men, women, and children, and burned towns and villages. But they had the shrewdness to see that England was a better country than their own, and, at length, they resolved to conquer and hold it. At first, the north of England suffered most, and seemed helpless to resist. Wessex, in the south, was remote and, for a time, freer from attack. It had a strong line of kings who were destined to drive back the Danes and to rule all England.

The Treaty of Wedmore, 878.—In Wessex, Egbert ruled from 802 to 839, and by this time it had become quite clear that all England was in danger of conquest, and that to avert this the English must unite. Egbert was a statesman. Under his strong guidance, Wessex took the lead in this struggle, and he forced Mercia and Northumbria to acknowledge him as overlord. Yet, step by step, the Danes mastered these states, and when Egbert's grandson, Alfred, came to the throne, in 871, the Danish leader, Guthrum, was already overrunning Wessex. By 878, Alfred was a fugitive among his own fens and forests, and the Danes were pillaging his helpless people and ravaging their country at will. Alfred was, however, a skilful leader, and, when well

led, the men of Wessex were good fighters. Perhaps success made the Danes reckless. At any rate at Ethandune, in Wiltshire, Alfred defeated them and was able to surround their camp. He had them at his mercy and in the Treaty of Wedmore, 878, he dictated his own terms. They must leave Wessex alone and retire to the north of England. They must also adopt the Christian religion. No doubt, by this time the old paganism sat lightly on the Dane. At any rate, Guthrum was baptized with thousands of his followers. This meant that henceforth the Dane would be taught Christianity and not savage paganism. Guthrum withdrew from Wessex and left Alfred to rule south of Watling Street, a road leading roughly from Chester to London. North of this ruled the Dane, and since he enforced there his own laws this region was called the Danelaw.

The work of Alfred the Great, 871-901.—Only bitter necessity had forced Alfred to yield half of England to the Danes. Wessex, however, gave him enough to do. Pillaged and terrorized by savage hordes for long periods, it had fallen back into barbarism. Churches had been burned and not rebuilt, schools had disappeared, and a generation had



grown up ignorant and brutal. It was Alfred's task to civilize his people, and no one ever attacked grave problems in a nobler spirit. Though he was racked by disease and

had few to help him, he worked on without ceasing. He had shown himself a soldier; now he showed himself a great statesman. He framed new laws and saw that they were enforced; he founded schools; he saw that priests were trained to teach his people. Since both priests and people had almost lost the knowledge of Latin, he became the founder of English prose by translating Latin books into English for their use, among them Bede's history, that they might know something of their own past. Alfred's days were very busy, and all his work is pervaded by the spirit of a true Christian. His laws are mild, in contrast with the savagery of earlier codes. He was always patient and just. In the annals of mankind there is no nobler figure than this hard-worked king, whom later Englishmen proudly called the Great.



DANISH, OR VIKING, BOAT

Alfred was not left to do his work in peace. Danes again attacked Wessex, but not the Danes who had found homes in the north. These, now Christian and owners of a goodly land, had very quickly become one with the English. It was fresh Danish hordes from the wild north-land who came to attack Alfred, hordes pagan and savage. Then Alfred saw that he must do more than fight on land, that he must meet the Danes on the sea. So he planned to build a fleet. The Danes came in great open boats, built on a plan which they never thought of changing. Alfred now

did what England has done so often since: he led in building boats of a new model. His ships were longer, higher, swifter, than those of the Danes, and he defeated them on the sea. On land, too, he made himself strong. The old English army, known as the *fyrð*, consisted of the freemen, called to arms as need arose. The men left their work to fight, and when the fighting ended they went back to their farms. Alfred saw that he must have an army always at hand. So he divided his fighting men into two parts and, while one half took its turn at drilling and fighting, the other half tilled the farms. Thus did he drive back the new hordes of Danes. At last they left him in peace, but he died in 901, when only fifty-two years old.

5. THE DANISH CONQUEST

The division between North and South.—Alfred was succeeded by a long line of kings, for the most part only less virtuous and able than himself (see list, p. 42). The chief aim of their policy was to recover sway over the parts of England held by the Danes. Edward the Elder (901-924) forced the Danes of the Danelaw to recognize him as overlord. Edred, his son, built a fort close to every Danish town, and slowly wore down and conquered those Danes who refused to accept his sway. Yet these kings built up no great state, ruled from a single centre, as England is now ruled. Instead, they left princes half-independent to govern provinces like Northumbria, and were content with but slight authority over them. There was no united English people, owing loyalty to a common king, and linked together by common interests. The north felt itself in many ways alien from the south, and at heart,



SOLDIER,
NINTH CENTURY

perhaps, disliked the rule of a king whose home was in the south.

The work of Dunstan.—One influence in England worked for unity—that of the clergy. Since the days of Theodore, the whole church in England had been ruled from Canterbury. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury from 961 to 988, was a great leader. His chief aim was to revive religious life, which the Danish struggle had weakened. The monasteries, centres of influence in the time of Bede (p. 24), had fallen low. The monks had been scattered, and many of their schools, the only hope of the rising generation, were closed. When still a young man, Dunstan showed what a monastery could do. He became Abbot of Glastonbury, and soon filled that house with busy life. He himself taught in its school, which became famous for its good work. When he was made archbishop, he required the clergy to learn handicrafts that they might teach them to their people. They were ordered, also, to preach constantly, and to rebuke the heavy drinking and other vices of the time. Under Edgar (957-975) Dunstan had a post not unlike that of the prime minister of our own times; next to the king, he was the greatest man in the state.

Union of Britain under Edgar, 973.—Edgar, though only thirty-two when he died, was a remarkable ruler. At Bath, in 973, he was solemnly crowned king, not merely of Wessex but of all the English. Like Alfred he kept up a strong fleet, and every year he made a tour of his coasts to check piracy and keep the sea safe for his subjects. He extended his sway over the whole island. There is a story, probably true, that at a great procession on the water at Chester, Edgar's boat was rowed by eight lesser rulers, while he himself steered. Without doubt he guided the whole English state as he steered this boat. His system shows that England had already become a kind of federal kingdom, strong when led by a strong man, but still lacking in true unity. The subject princes in Edgar's train were quite ready to fight against him, when it seemed to serve their own interests.

The Danish Conquest.—Edgar was the last able English king of Alfred's line. His son Ethelred (979-1016) is known in English history as Ethelred the Unready, or Redeless, the king without wisdom. His weak and vicious rule invited attack. Even a strong man could scarcely have triumphed over the evils that threatened England, for out of Norway and Denmark ever came fresh hosts of assailants, still pagan and savage. After long strife, the attacks grew so fierce, and Ethelred so helpless, that at last, in 991, he bribed the Danes to spare him, and, in order to get money, levied a special tax called the Danegeld, perhaps the first national tax that an English king ever levied on his people. The Danes took the money, but were soon ravaging the land as before. Then Ethelred used treachery. On St. Brice's Day (Nov. 13th), 1002, the English rose against the Danes and slaughtered all on whom they could lay hands. The Danish revenge was fearful; Sweyn, their leader, and Canute his son, began the systematic conquest of England, and did not stay their hand until, in 1013, they forced the English to accept the pagan pirate, Sweyn, as king. But Sweyn's rule was short, for he died in 1014. Ethelred's hopes revived, but he, too, died in 1016, and then Sweyn's son, Canute, struggled with Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironside. The mettle of the English improved under an able leader. Edmund at length ruled half the land, but he died in 1016. Then all England united in naming Canute king, and for twenty-five years Danish sovereigns ruled the English. The conquest, against which Alfred had fought with such skill, had been at last achieved.

The reigns of the Danish Kings.—During these twenty-five years England was, in truth, not ill-governed. Probably few Danes emigrated to England, except to centres



KING CANUTE (994?-1035)
Note the costume.

London. Little as the mild and gentle spirit of Christianity had transformed the social life of England, she was yet a Christian state. The pagan Canute soon became a Christian, and the just rule of the converted Dane showed his sincerity. At first, neighbouring sovereigns looked upon him as a savage heathen, who had ruthlessly cut off the hands, ears, and noses of hostages left in his power; but his later life caused them to change their minds. He made generous gifts to the church and showed regret for his lawless deeds. In 1027, he went to Rome, partly to arrange with the Pope some matters of business affecting the church, but also to humble himself there and to receive absolution for the sins of his past. From Rome he wrote a touching letter to his subjects. "I have vowed to God," he said, "to rule my realms and peoples in justice and righteousness and to give true judgment to all. If, hitherto, I have done anything unjust, through self-will or youthful folly, I am prepared, with God's help, to undo the wrong completely." Under Canute peace and order prevailed, commerce expanded, some of the towns grew rapidly. He married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, and he made England the most important state in a Scandinavian empire of the north, which included England, Norway, and Denmark, and rivalled in power its contemporary, the Holy Roman Empire. The new king set up in England the four great earldoms of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex, divisions formed on the lines of the earlier separate kingdoms. When he died, in 1035, England mourned for a ruler who might almost be named with Alfred. His long reign was followed by the short and unworthy ones of his two sons, Harold and Hardicanute. When Hardicanute died, in 1042, the minds of the English turned to his half-brother Edward, son of Emma and of Alfred's descendant, Ethelred the Unready. Thus did the old English line come back. The Danish conquest had run its course and few yet dreamed that the sway of another conqueror, the Norman, was not far off.

6. OLD ENGLISH CIVILIZATION

The English village community.—When the English conquerors had mastered Britain, they settled down in small village communities like those of their homeland in Germany. Each community rarely contained more than a score of freemen, and sometimes only the members of a single family. Wellington was the “ton,” or mound of earth-work for defence, of the family of Wellings; the Ashings and the Wokings dwelt in “hams” or villages called by their names (Ashingham, Wokingham). The freeman had his own cottage with its little plot of ground, which was held as private property, while the farming land of the village was held in common. It was marked off into strips, in great open fields. These strips were divided among the villagers and, perhaps to make sure that each man should have his fair average of good and of inferior land, the strips were reallocated at regular intervals. Liberty to cut fuel in the forest beyond the tilled land, and to pasture animals on the meadow land, also belonged to the villagers, and the rights of each man were carefully limited and defined.

The first written laws of the English.—

At their arrival, the English had no written laws. They were only slightly influenced by what Rome had done in Britain; and we may doubt whether a single Roman law-book was to be found among them for five hundred years after their coming. They held to their own old tribal practices with great tenacity, and showed already the reverence for custom which has played such a part in English political life. Ethelbert of Kent was the first to cause the simple laws of his people to be committed to writing. They are contained in a few short



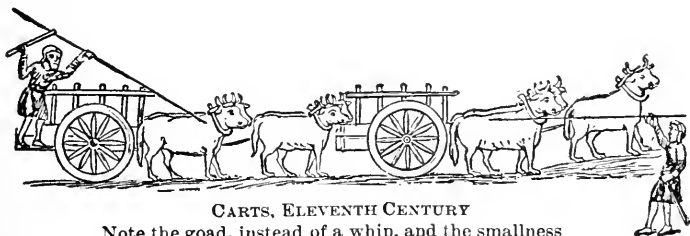
EMMA, WIFE OF ETHEL-
RED AND CANUTE, AND
MOTHER OF EDWARD
THE CONFESSOR (D.
1052)

sentences and are mainly directed against deeds of violence; for striking another on the nose with the fist, the fine is three shillings; for putting out an eye, it is fifty shillings, and so on. After Ethelbert, the chief legislators of early England are Ine, king of Wessex at the end of the seventh century, and his great descendant Alfred, at the end of the ninth. Both added to the written body of laws, and those of England of the present day are the direct outcome of the work of these early kings.

The Wergeld.—English law, like other northern legal systems, had the custom of the *wergeld*. In a rude society, before law and order are well established, a crime such as murder is likely to be avenged by the family of the murdered man. This was the rule among the English in very early times. The custom led, of course, to bitter family quarrels and to needless bloodshed. In order to check this, a money value was, in time, put upon the life of the members of each class in the state, and any one slaying another unlawfully was required to pay to the dead man's family this *wergeld*. If the offender failed to pay, the relatives were then allowed to wreak their own vengeance; they reverted, in fact, to the old barbaric method of private punishment.

The Village Moot.—From the first, we find, in England, differences of class. The earl, or man of noble birth, was distinct from the churl, or man without rank. Yet government among the English was at first democratic. Village affairs were discussed in a "moot," or meeting, of the freemen, who chose a head known as the reeve. Perhaps the chief business of the village fathers was to see that crime was punished, for the age was rough. But they did other things. They arranged the periodical reallocation of the land and the collection of taxes. The affairs of the village were simple enough. There was no question of schools or of sanitation, such as we have now. Whatever schools there were the church provided, and sanitation was wholly neglected. None the less should we look with reverence on these English villagers, assembled in public meeting, for out of their freedom has grown the wider liberty of later centuries.

The Hundred Moot and the punishment of crime.—The villages remained always so small that union was needed, if only to hunt down crime. Eight or ten villages joined to form what was named the “hundred,” so-called, it may be, because it sent a hundred warriors to the national host. There was a hundred “moot,” or meeting, several times in the year and to it came the reeve and other freemen from the villages. When they dealt with questions of crime, their justice was rude enough. If the accused man denied his guilt, he had to swear that he was innocent and find twelve other men to swear that they believed him. By this method of “compurgation” he was acquitted. But should he fail to secure “compurgators,” he must go through the ordeal—plunge his arm into boiling water, or walk blindfold over red-hot plough-shares. It was believed that no harm would come to him if he was innocent; so they wrapped up carefully the arm or the feet that had been exposed, and if he was found to be uninjured when, after some days, the bandages were removed, God, it was thought, had shown that he had been accused unjustly. We do not know how the system worked; to modern critics it certainly seems inadequate.

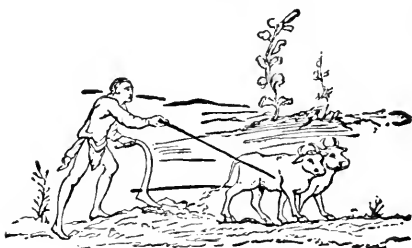


CARTS, ELEVENTH CENTURY

Note the goad, instead of a whip, and the smallness of the cattle of the time.

The Shire Moot and the Folk Moot.—There were larger unions than the hundred; the shire, made up usually of a number of hundreds, with a “moot” presided over by a shire reeve or sheriff; and a still wider union, that of the whole tribe or “folk,” with the king at its head. While dwellers in Germany, the English appear to have had no kings. In

England, however, the prolonged war with the Britons made it necessary to name not merely a "war-lord," chosen whenever war broke out, but a permanent leader. He was known as king, perhaps because he became the chief of his kin or tribe. When a vacancy occurred the fittest member of the royal house was chosen king. It was the duty of the king to summon his people to meet him when there were great questions to settle. Then the reeve and other freemen from the villages made their way, fully armed, to the assembly, called the "folk-moot," or meeting of the whole people. Here they debated chiefly problems of war



PLOUGHING, ELEVENTH CENTURY

and peace. When the warriors wished to show approval, it was done by the martial clashing of their weapons upon their shields. These first English Parliaments were, above all, councils of war, in which armed men decided the questions.

The Witenagemot.—The king's power tended to increase, that of the people to decline. As the political divisions grew in size, the villagers found themselves too poverty-stricken to send their chief men on the long journey to the folk-moot and gradually the central government passed into the hands of the king and his friends. In time, all ceased to attend the national meeting, but such leaders in the counties as the bishop, the alderman, or headman, of the shire, the abbots of the chief monasteries, and other great men. These formed the Witenagemot—the meeting of wise men. It was the Witan, or wise men, who elected the king and who could depose him if he proved unworthy. They had the right to be consulted when he wished to levy taxes, to raise an army, or to take any other important action. Under a strong king they might do little; it was when the king proved weak that their power was real. More and more

the royal court became the centre of social and political life. Surrounding the king were his thanes (a word meaning servants)—a chosen war-band, devoted to his personal service, and ready, if need be, to give their lives for him. If the king died in battle, it was disgraceful for the thane to survive. These friends and counsellors became the nobles about the throne.

The lord of the manor.—It happened, in course of time, that the free communities of villagers died out. In some way, we scarcely know how, the village came under the control of a lord. It is likely that, when the Danes began to ravage England, the villagers, helpless to resist such savage attacks, asked the nearest earl to protect them. He did so, but on condition that they should serve him. Thus, the village and its surrounding land became a manor under a lord of the manor, who, for the aid which he gave, had the right to demand a fixed, sometimes a heavy, portion of the labour of the villagers to till his land. They are called, in time, "villeins," men who must live in the village or "vill." The old village organization long remained. The village moot was held as before, but at its head now, was, not an elected reeve, but the lord of the manor, or his steward, who dispensed perhaps wiser justice than did the village fathers of old.

Dwellings.—The dwellings even of the rich were rudely planned, and provided but meagre comfort, as we understand the term. There was little to give comfort to the body, or to please the eye. Furniture was so scanty that the king sometimes carried with him, from place to place, what he might need. The great hall of the manor-house was the scene of varied activities. Here was held the court of the manor, sometimes a crowded assembly. At other times the hall was used for dining a great company. The tables were formed of boards placed on movable trestles, and wooden benches served as seats. The doorways and walls were sometimes hung with tapestry, that served the useful purpose of protection from draughts, while the narrow windows were either unprotected openings, or were filled with

oiled linen, rarely in the earlier times with glass, to keep out the cold and let in the light. In cold weather a fire blazed on a hearth-stone in the centre of the hall, and the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof over the hearth-stone, or through the open windows.



WORKMAN,
ELEVENTH CENTURY

Food.—In this early England there was a rude plenty. Great numbers of swine fed upon acorns and other nuts in the forests; there were herds of many cattle and large flocks of sheep. Meat was so abundant that the church threatened with penalties masters who gave their servants meat on fast days, like Friday. Fish was readily secured on the coasts, but, owing to bad roads, it could not be carried easily to the interior. The diet of the peasants must have consisted chiefly of rudely cooked pork or other meat, and of black bread made from barley and oats. Cabbage was the chief vegetable. Mead (fermented honey) and also malt ale were common; wheaten bread, wine, and other luxuries must have been confined chiefly to the well-to-do. Tea, coffee, tobacco, and potatoes, which, in modern times, have become almost necessities of life, had not yet reached Europe.

Dress.—Of the dress of the period our knowledge is scanty. The women wove beautiful linen and from it made long tunics worn like a petticoat, over which was the gown, often richly embroidered, falling to the knee. Both men and women favoured bright colours. Long hair was fashionable, even for men; cropped hair was sometimes regarded as the mark of the slave. The ordinary head-dress of a woman was a long cloth (the wimple) wound round the neck and over the head, in the fashion of the dress of a nun in modern times; over this the wearer drew a hood when going out. The dress of the men was simple, yet in some respects more elaborate than it is now, for they wore gold and silver bracelets, chains, and brooches. Their tunics,

often rich in texture and colour, were caught in at the waist by a belt, in which was carried a knife, with a sheath, sometimes jewelled.

The Arts.—Some of the finer arts flourished in early England. The art of embroidery in gold was highly developed. In the monasteries a monk would spend perhaps years in making a beautifully illuminated copy of the Scriptures or of a book of prayers. Ladies busied themselves with tapestry and embroidery, in addition to household duties. They had little to read except books of devotion. Women of the lower classes worked in the fields, and their poor hovels must have had but scanty attention. For amusements, chess, backgammon, and similar games

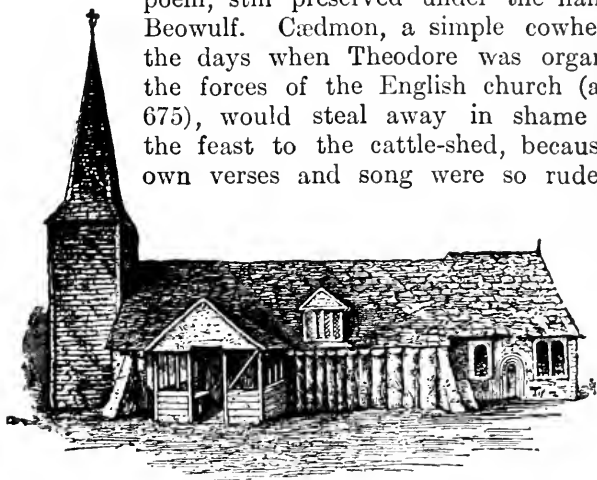


GENTLEMAN AND LADY, TENTH CENTURY
Note especially the man's costume.

were not unknown, but playing cards were a later invention. There was much singing of a rude kind, often by wandering gleemen and musicians. Hunting and horse-racing were favourite sports, and gambling, excessive drinking, and fighting were common in a society which had few of the refinements of modern life.

Education.—Education was wholly in the hands of the clergy, and consisted of the simplest elements, with much attention to music for the church services. Few of the village children went to school; among at least the lower classes only those intended for the clerical profession learned to read. Yet England was not without its literature. At the feasts even the humblest sometimes took their turn to sing, to chant verses, or to play the harp. In Northumbria the deeds of Beowulf, a hero of the English when

they still dwelt in northern Europe, were sung as early as in the sixth century, and this tale became current from one end of England to the other. By the tenth century it had become the great English epic poem, still preserved under the name of *Beowulf*. *Cædmon*, a simple cowherd in the days when Theodore was organizing the forces of the English church (about, 675), would steal away in shame from the feast to the cattle-shed, because his own verses and song were so rude that



WOODEN CHURCH AT GREENSTEAD, ESSEX, BUILT IN ELEVENTH CENTURY

he shrank from taking his part with others. Once, the story goes, he was bidden in a dream to sing of holy things, and henceforth unlike others, he put not his own thoughts, but the story of the creation into verse. The age thought his composition so beautiful that he acquired the fame of a great poet.

The weakness of England.—In a dim way, these are some of the features of English life. There was little real union among those nominally the subjects of the same king. Northumbria, remote from Wessex, preserved an independence almost complete. Patriotism was local and not national, and Englishmen had not learned to stand together against the common foe. Internal division aided the Danish assailant, and to him, as booty, fell the state for which Alfred had toiled. Danish rule ran its course; and

then came back, in the person of Edward the Confessor, the old English line. But the land conquered in turn by Roman, Englishman, and Dane, was not yet to be free; a new conqueror was soon preparing to master England.

TOPICS

I. What civilization and religion the Romans found in Britain. What Julius Cæsar and Agricola effected. How much Rome altered Britain and why she withdrew.

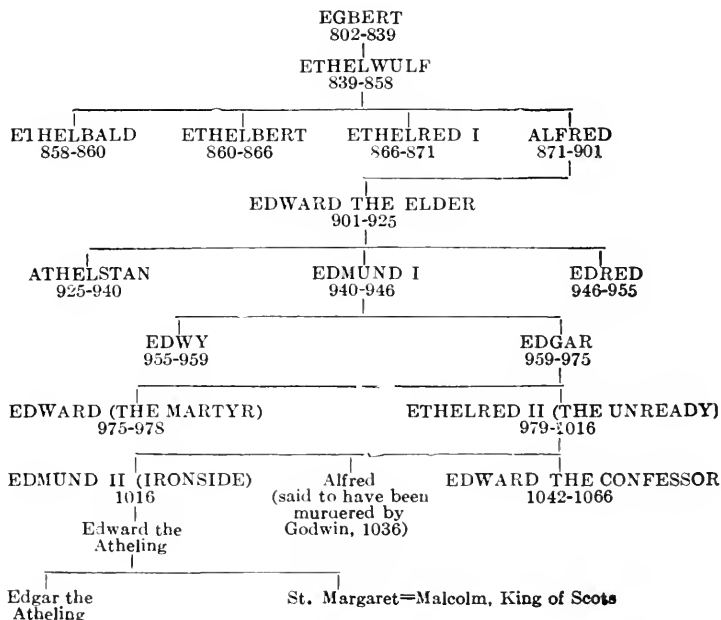
II. Where the English came from and why they settled in Britain. How much of Britain they conquered. What customs and religion they had. Did the English mingle with the Britons?

III. Why Gregory the Great sent a mission to the English, and why it seemed easy to convert Kent. How Ireland was converted. How Irish missionaries came to enter England. What was the value of the monastery in early England?

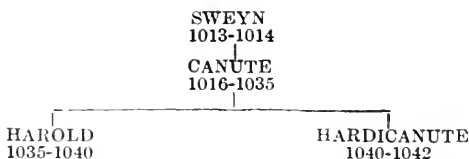
IV. Why England was so weak that the Danes attacked her. Why Alfred is called the Great. Was England really united under Edgar?

V. How did the English villager hold his land? Why the *wergeld* was needed. The different moots or meetings in early England: the village, the hundred, the shire, and the folk-moot. What power and influence had the Witenagemot? How the village came to have a lord of the manor.

THE ENGLISH KINGS FROM EGBERT TO EDWARD THE CONFESSOR



THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND



NOTE.—Harold, who succeeded Edward the Confessor, was of royal blood on his mother's side, being the great-great-grandson of Harold Bluctooth, ancestor of Sweyn and Canute

CHAPTER III

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. THE HOUSE OF GODWIN

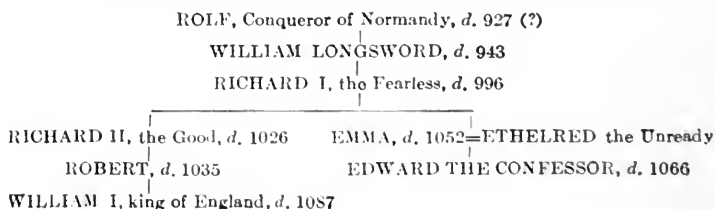
The character of Edward the Confessor.—EDWARD, called the Confessor, for his earnest confession of the Christian faith, made religion the supreme interest of his life. So intense grew his devotion that secular business was hateful to him; he would have preferred to be a monk. He is the only English king whom the church has formally made a saint. Edward was fragile in health, with white hair, and thin, delicate hands. Though subject at times to fits of passion, he had a gentle spirit. He proved a weak king, who was always ready to lean on any strong arm offered to him; men said, in contempt, that if a chosen adviser declared a black crow to be white, the king would believe him, in defiance of his own eye-sight.

The Normans, a Teutonic race, in France.—From the first day of Edward's reign the Normans acquired great influence. A century and a half before Edward, these adventurers from the north, akin to those who made Alfred's life so stormy, had seized that part of France which lay about the mouth of the Seine. The weak French king could not drive them back and, not many years after Alfred shared England with the Danes, Charles the Simple, king of France, was forced to make terms with the Normans. In 911, Rolf or Rollo, their leader, was left in possession of the land he had conquered, on condition that he should acknowledge the king of France as his lord, and be baptized into the Christian faith. The terms were similar to those which Alfred had made with the Danes, and the Normans, like the Danes, settled down in a goodly land. Apparently

many of the warriors married French women. The children learned the tongue of their mother, and soon the Normans knew only the French language. They mastered rapidly the best culture of the time, and, since this culture found its chief expression in architecture, they became great builders, and honoured their new faith with noble structures, unequalled before in number, extent, and massiveness.

Norman influence in England.—Edward was related, through his mother Emma, to the Norman ducal house.* When in exile, as a child, while Danish kings ruled England, he had been reared at the Norman court, and the Norman tongue, Norman manners, Norman fashions, were those with which he was familiar. To him England seemed a rude and barbarous country. Thus, it is little wonder that, once on the throne, he encouraged Norman influences. The Normans who came to England with him jeered at the English as uncouth. At the king's court, the French tongue was spoken and English nobles, who would be in the fashion, must make efforts, no doubt clumsy enough, to master its unfamiliar sounds. Norman prelates were appointed to English sees; Norman abbots ruled in English monasteries; Norman landowners held English lands; until it seemed already, in Edward's reign, as if England was conquered by her neighbours. Following the fashion which the Normans had set, Edward was eager to rear a great church. It is said that he had planned a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Peter at Rome, and that, as his people did not wish him to leave England, he had to be content with building at home a

*NORMAN LINEAGE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR



stately fabric in honour of that apostle. He set aside one tenth of the royal revenues for the purpose, and, during more than half his reign, his supreme object of interest was the building of the "Collegiate Church of St. Peter," better known as Westminster Abbey. It was a vast structure in the Norman style, far surpassing other English churches, many of which were only of wood. This first Westminster Abbey, of which few traces remain at the present day, was, in fact, the earliest monument of the dominance of the Norman in England.

Earl Godwin opposes Norman influence in England.—The vigorous, if backward, social life which England had developed was not without its champions against Norman influence. Among the chief advisers of Canute had been a man of Danish origin, Godwin, who, as earl of Wessex, became rich and powerful. This able and strong leader intensely disliked the growing Norman influence. Upon coming to the throne, Edward had married Godwin's daughter Edith, thinking, perhaps, to make sure of his support. In spite of this, the king's relations with the family were not happy. Edward's brother, Alfred, was murdered in 1036. Stories were told, and open accusation was even made, that Godwin had been concerned in the murder. He was acquitted, but could never remove suspicion from Edward's mind. Godwin managed to place the members of his numerous family in high positions. So great was his influence, that, at one time, he and his sons governed almost the whole country.

The family of Godwin watched with jealous distrust the spread of Norman influence. In 1051 came open strife. Eustace of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law and a foreigner, had paid a visit to Edward. On his way back to France he made a halt at Dover. Here he needed quarters for his large following, and he seems to have thought that, as a relative of the king, he could do what he liked. So he marked certain houses and told the owners that they must receive his men. This high-handed conduct angered the men of Dover, and a riot followed in which many were slain on both sides. Eustace appealed to his kinsman

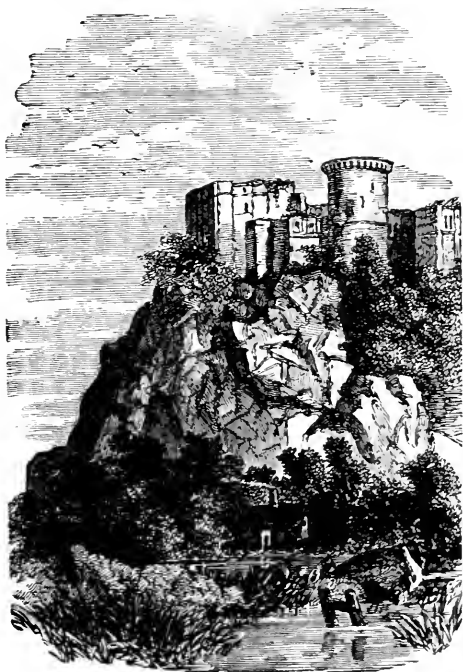
Edward, who ordered Godwin to chastise the Dover townsmen. The earl demanded that there should be first a fair trial. Edward, angry at this check upon his will, called out his forces, and Godwin also took up arms. For the moment Godwin's cause failed; he was outlawed, and fled with his sons from England. Edward was, however, soon obliged to make terms with the powerful earl, and from that day foreign influence was checked, and Godwin's family was supreme.

Harold, son of Godwin, King, 1066.—When Godwin died in 1053, his second and ablest son, Harold, succeeded him as earl of Wessex, and secured supreme power in England, which he lost only with his life on the fatal field of Hastings. We know little of his character, but his deeds show him to have been a strong man and a skilful soldier. In 1065, Edward's abbey was nearing completion, and during the Christmas season of that year it was consecrated with elaborate ceremony. But the king, who had made its building the chief purpose of his life, was now near his end, and could take no part in the joyous festivities. His death followed in January, 1066, and brought a political crisis in England. Edward left no direct heir. Harold had long planned to make himself king, and he acted now with what was even unseemly haste. Edward was buried hurriedly in the great minster on the day after his death, and on that day, in the same place, Harold was anointed and crowned king of England. Probably all necessary legal rules were complied with. No doubt Harold was formally chosen by the Witenagemot which had the right to name the king (p. 36). No doubt the applause of the populace confirmed the choice. Yet the extreme haste was in itself suspicious, and it was soon clear that Harold must hold by the sword the glittering prize which he had won.

2. WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY, AND THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

William, Duke of Normandy.—Harold had, as rival, William, Duke of Normandy, a rough, strong, resolute man

who was himself resolved to rule in England. William, the son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and a tanner's daughter of Falaise, had succeeded, when only eight years old, to the stormy sovereignty which his ancestor Rolf had won from the king of France (p. 43). He had a terrible childhood. His chief vassals thought that such a stripling could be defied, and the boy grew up amid strife which threatened his own authority. He saw some of his friends basely murdered; his own life was in danger from assassins; territory that belonged of right to his dukedom was wrested from him. To meet such dangers he became, above all, a warrior. In strength he was a giant; in temper he was often passionate and cruel. When the defenders of the bridge of Alençon sneered at his tanner ancestry, he swore "by the splendour of God" that he would prune them as a tree is pruned. He took the bridge, and a shower of human hands and feet over the castle wall revealed the terrible resolution that lay behind his threat. But, though ruthless, he had good impulses. He was pure in life. He was devout and fond of the Scriptures, and tried to learn to read them for himself, but appar-



THE CASTLE AT FALAISE, BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM
THE CONQUEROR

ently in vain, for in those days even great rulers could not read. William had a statesman's insight. He never turned from a purpose once formed, and showed a masterly capacity to make even his injustice appear just.



ENGLISH AXEMAN, 1066
The spots indicate
armour.

The character of Harold.—When Harold became king his path proved indeed thorny. Two brothers, Edwin and Morcere, scions of an ancient English house, were in charge of the northern half of the kingdom—Mercia and Northumbria—and they held aloof. Harold had married their sister Edith, but, even with this tie, he won only a sullen recognition. The clergy, too, turned against him. He was devout, and had given lands to the church. He had made a pilgrimage to Rome in the later years of Edward, and with pious zeal had brought back relics and treasures for a church founded by him at Waltham. None the less, however, had he aroused the Church's anger. He had helped to drive Norman bishops from England, and he was no friend of the monks, one of whom, Hildebrand, was then all-powerful at Rome. Harold was less pure in life than William. On the other hand, even in a time of fierce passions, he was never guilty of the barbarity which stained so many of William's successes.



ENGLISH HORSEMAN

Note the huge shield and the absence of armour, which, though not unknown in England, was less used than in Normandy.

William claims the English crown.—While hunting near Rouen, William heard of the death of Edward and of

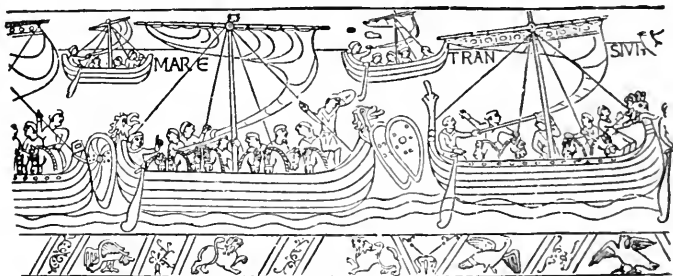
Harold's accession. He turned homewards at once, and sat long in his great hall, his head covered with his mantle, and uttering no word. When at last he spoke, it was to say that he sorrowed not only for Edward's death, but for the falsity of the usurper Harold. This reveals William's policy; he now claimed that he was the rightful heir to the English throne. Some time before this, when William was on a visit to England, the childless Edward had promised to bequeath the throne to his Norman cousin. A little later, it is said, Harold was wrecked upon the Norman coast and became practically William's prisoner. His captor put pressure upon him, and, at last, so it was believed, forced from him a solemn oath to support the Norman claim to England. Yet the difficulties were many. If Edward promised the crown to William, it is certain that he had no right to do so, for only the English Witenagemot might name a king; it is equally certain that, Edward, on his death-bed, revoked this promise, for then he named Harold as his successor. If Harold took the alleged oath to William, he did it under compulsion, while he was William's prisoner. In any case, his oath could not bind the English Witan in choosing a king. Yet Edward's promise and Harold's oath seemed of vast import, and William used them skilfully. He appealed to Rome against the perjured Harold. The appeal was heard favourably, and the Pope urged William to go forth against the usurper. William carried on the work of preparation with great energy. He counted for help not only on his Norman vassals, but also on Christian Europe, which he invited to join a righteous cause. From far and near, men, eager for adventure, flocked to his standard. By



ENGLISH SPEARMEN

August, 1066, hundreds of open boats were collected at Dive, on the Norman coast, to carry to England a large invading force.

The invasion of Harold Hardrada.—Harold was in very great danger. The loyalty of the northern half of his kingdom was doubtful, and disunion, which, in an earlier age, had made Britain a prey to the Roman, now threatened to clear the path of the Norman. The dangers multiplied. Harold's brother, Tostig, had been earl of Northumbria. His misrule had caused revolt, and Harold had dismissed and banished him. Tostig, panting for revenge, had found in Norway a powerful ally. Harold Hardrada, who then ruled Norway, was the last of the great



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR ON THE WAY TO ENGLAND

Note the horses on board. This and some of the other pictures are from the Bayeux Tapestry, a strip of linen cloth 20 inches wide and 231 feet long, still preserved at Bayeux in France, and having upon it successive pictures of the Norman Conquest in needlework, done, it is said, by order of the Conqueror's half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux

vikings. In the true viking spirit he was always ready for new adventures, and now, stirred by Tostig's appeal, he made ready to act. While William's boats were lying at Dive, Harold Hardrada's force gathered near Bergen. The wind, which held William prisoner, released Harold, and, early in September, the North Sea was dotted with the boats of still another expedition of hardy Norsemen against the shores of England. The invading fleet sailed up the Humber, and Harold Hardrada marched on York, the northern capital.

Harold of England had spent a laborious summer in the Isle of Wight, organizing the coast defences against William. Harold needed both an army and a fleet and really had neither. His own body-guard, known as the House Carls, was the fine nucleus of a regular army, but it was small. He had called out the militia known as the *fyrd* (p. 29) and during the summer they watched the coast carefully. But William did not come, and the English force continued inactive. At the same time, food was scarce, and the men were needed at home to gather the ripening harvest. It seems as if Harold, brave in actual conflict, lacked foresight. He did not follow William's movements closely, and the unseen danger was apparently half forgotten. On September 8th, he sent the peasants to their homes to gather the harvest, and the south and the east coasts of England were left unguarded.

The battle of Stamford Bridge, 1066.—The defence of the north had been left entirely to Harold's half-hearted supporters, Edwin and Morkere. On September 20th, they met Harold Hardrada marching upon York, and were defeated with great slaughter. Four days later, York was on the point of opening its gates to the victor. Harold of England lay ill, apparently at London, when news arrived of the coming of the Norwegian king. Dangers threatened on every side, but the most imminent was from the north, and Harold started on the long march of three hundred miles to York. The rapid advance of this harassed king was a brilliant exploit. Harold Hardrada was at Stamford Bridge, waiting for the surrender of York, when, on Monday, September 25th, the king of England, whose coming was unexpected until he was quite near, attacked him. A desperate fight followed. Harold Hardrada, Tostig, and the flower of the Norwegian force fell, and the English won at Stamford Bridge the last of the long series of battles with the invaders from the north.

The Battle of Hastings, or Senlac, 1066.—Yet disaster brooded over England. The favourable wind, waited and prayed for by the Normans during more than a month, came

at last, and, three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, William landed with a great force at Pevensey, on the south coast. Harold, hurrying to the south, paused at London to gather additional men and to plan a new campaign. Some advised him to shut himself up in London, and to starve out the Normans by ravaging the whole south country, but he refused thus to harass his own people. William encamped at Hastings and allowed his army to carry on lawless pillage. Harold marched out of



BATTLE OF HASTINGS

London to meet him, and took up a strong position on rising ground, known later as the Hill of Senlac, seven miles from Hastings, where now stands the town of Battle. The position was skilfully chosen, for the enemy could not attack without mounting the hill.

Harold placed himself in the centre, surrounded by his own trained body-guard, the House Carls. The men on his two wings were raw levies, but they had a great advantage in their position, which Harold ordered them, on no account, to leave.

The battle of Hastings, so momentous in English history, gave little occasion for the complex tactics of later warfare. How many fought on each side, we do not know; perhaps not more than from five to ten thousand. Harold was in a strong position, and William attempted to seize it, mainly by hand-to-hand fighting. Undoubtedly the Normans were the better armed and disciplined. Many of them wore chain armour and charged on horseback, while few of the English had armour, and they fought on foot. The Normans had skilled archers, and soldiers armed with spear and sword. The English, soon to lead the world in the use of the bow,

seem to have had no archers, and fought chiefly with the clumsy battle-axe.

The battle began at nine in the morning of October 14th, 1066. When William learned where Harold's standard had been placed, he vowed, if successful, to build on the spot a great abbey. For six long hours the Normans attacked in vain. At length the English drove back the Norman left wing and pursued it. Though the left wing recovered itself, the incident led William to plan a ruse. Soon he ordered the left wing again to fly, and when the English right pursued and rushed down the hill, the Norman centre hurried to the vacant place on the hill. Thus was the English line broken. The assailants were now on the height, and, as night fell, they closed in upon Harold.

No quarter was asked or given, and the English king, two of his brothers, and almost the whole of the English nobility, fell fighting round the royal standard. That night William sat down on the battle-field to eat and drink amid the wounded, the dying, and the dead. He slept where Harold fell, and where afterwards rose the high altar of Battle Abbey.

William crowned king.—After Harold's death the English were without a leader. Probably this is why they did so little by way of defence, and why town after town surrendered. William pitched his camp near London and waited. The English Witan, meanwhile, chose Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, to succeed Harold. He was, however, a mere boy, and was apparently never crowned. The losers at Hastings began to remember that England had already prospered under a foreign king, Canute; and, two months after the great battle, a deputation from London, including even Edgar Atheling himself, offered the crown to William. He accepted it, and, on Christmas Day, 1066,

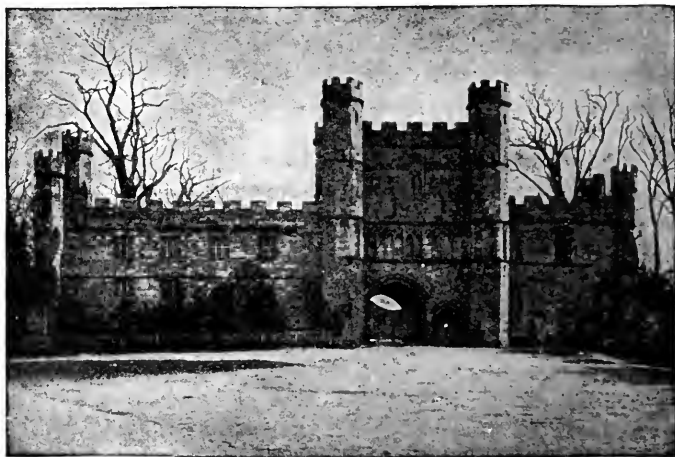


NORMAN KNIGHT, 1066

William, Duke of Normandy, was lawfully chosen and crowned king of England.

3. THE RULE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The harshness of Norman rule.—The Norman Conquest was no accident. The invaders were the stronger race; more hardy, intelligent, thrifty, and sober, than the English, and they were better armed and organized. On the other hand, they were more brutal and cruel in their methods than the conquered people had ever been. It was not long before the Englishman found that, for him, as against the

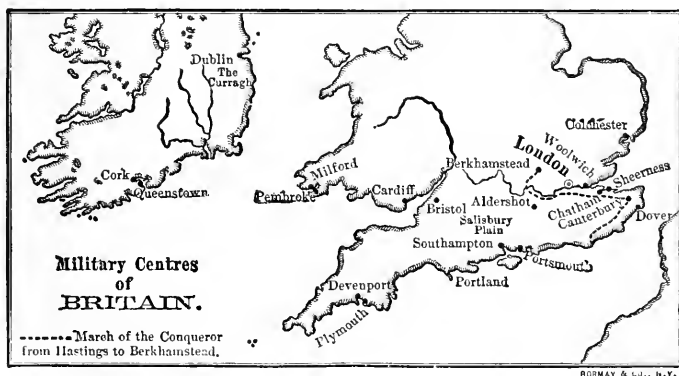


BATTLE ABBEY
Built on the site of Harold's fall

Norman, justice did not exist. Norman ruffians might seize an Englishman's property, or carry off his wife, but the conquered race could get no redress. Of course, revolts broke out. As of old, however, the English were not united, and did not take common action. Revolt in the south-west centred at Exeter, but it died out when William took that place in 1068, and built within its walls a strong

Norman tower, in which he lodged a Norman garrison, to overawe the city. He had to build many such towers, and they dotted the whole conquered land, symbols, in their rugged strength, of the resolve of the Norman to hold what he had won. The massive Tower of London stands to-day, almost unchanged since it was reared by William.

The conquest of the North, 1069-70, and of Scotland, 1072.—In the north William did something more terrible than the building of towers. Repeated revolts roused at last his fiery anger and he took a terrible vengeance. Of the many pages of history stained with blood, none is darker than that which tells of his harrying of Northumberland. Over the space of sixty miles from York to Durham he destroyed all the towns and villages. Men, women, and children perished by hundreds. Years after, when he lay dying, these scenes in Northumberland rose to torture his conscience. In the depth of winter, he crossed



England to Chester, contemptuously dismissing those of his followers who murmured at the danger of death on the way from cold and starvation. Chester fell, and the terror reached the heart of his foes on the Welsh border. The last English revolt was in the fen country about Ely. Here William built a causeway across the marshes, and at length

captured Ely. There even Hereward, the bravest of the English leaders, yielded and entered his service. William's arm reached beyond England. Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, had married Edgar Atheling's sister Margaret, and his court became a refuge for the rebel English. He ravaged the north of England and carried off many of William's subjects into slavery. William bided his time. At length, in 1072, he marched into Scotland, and, in a short campaign, forced Malcolm to acknowledge himself the vassal of the king of England. Thus began that claim of the Norman ruler of England to be lord also of Scotland, which was to cause many centuries of strife. William had plans to subdue Ireland too, but they were never carried out.

The confiscation of land by the Normans.—Though cruel and ruthless, William was not a lawless tyrant. He had, indeed, a passion for order. He was, he said, the lawful successor of Edward the Confessor, and all who had fought against him on the side of Harold were traitors, who had forfeited their lands by their treason. Later revolts increased the forfeitures, until, to about twenty thousand Normans, some noble by birth, some only cooks or game-keepers, went the greater part of England. Laws and customs remained as in old England, but all real power passed into the hands of new and foreign leaders. So also did ecclesiastical power. Stigand, the English Archbishop of Canterbury, was replaced by William's friend Lanfranc, who had been Abbot of Bec in Normandy. The change from English to Norman barons and prelates was so complete that not an English earl, and but one English bishop, was left at the close of the reign.

Feudalism in England.—The greatest change resulting from the Norman Conquest was not in the laws but in the ownership of land. William made grants, not as free gifts but under conditions of service to himself. Feudalism was the prevailing system of land-tenure at the time, and he followed its principles. Those to whom he gave land became "tenants-in-chief," vassals of the king. They might,

in turn, divide their land among lesser vassals, who then owed them the same kind of service as they owed the king. On getting land, the vassal knelt and put his hands between his lord's and solemnly vowed to be his man and do him true service against his foes,—in feudal phrase, did homage and swore fealty. The chief service was military. The tenant must furnish his lord with as many armed men as the size of his holding called for. They served during a definite period, usually forty days, in each year.

The vassal must, however, perform other services than those involved in fighting for his lord. When the lord had special needs the vassal must come to his help. In England these needs were, in time, defined as three. The vassal must aid to meet the outlay when the lord's eldest son was knighted, when his eldest daughter was married, and when he himself was taken captive and forced to pay a ransom. Under feudal tenure the nation was a great family, bound by something like family ties to its supreme feudal lord, the king. If the heir to a property was a minor, the king was his lawful guardian.

If a woman succeeded to a property, she was bound to take a husband, whom the king sometimes named for her, since only a man could perform the required military service. The king's assent was necessary when the property of tenants-in-chief changed hands. If a tenant died without an heir, the land reverted to the king. If a tenant proved a coward in the day of battle, or unfaithful, at any time, to the king, he might forfeit his land. At every turn the landholder came face to face with the king's authority.



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR
From his great seal.

Domesday Book, 1085-86.—William the Conqueror was a man to make this authority real. He would have no subject as powerful as Godwin had been, and quickly abolished the four great earldoms into which England had been divided. He granted lands with a free hand. Robert of Mortain secured seven hundred and ninety-three manors, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, four hundred and thirty-nine. William himself kept more than a thousand. When we remember that a manor might include five or six thousand acres, we see what vast estates some of the Normans received. They were forced to pay taxes to the king, and they found that William would exact the last farthing. The time came when, with his instinct for order, he desired exact knowledge about the land of his subjects, the nature of their titles, and the amount of taxes they could pay. To gain this he sent commissioners from shire to shire, and nothing escaped them; they noted every house, every acre of wood-land and of meadow, every mill, every fish-pond. Not only human beings, but horses, pigs, sheep, even beehives, found place in the relentless roll. Most of this heavy work was done within a year, and its parchment record, known as Domesday Book, because, like the Day of Doom, it spared no one, still exists, the most treasured of English public documents.

William's punishments.—William found it no easy task to hold his great men in subjection. More than once, Norman leaders, the men who had fought with him at Hastings, broke out in revolt. In 1075, William crushed the first Norman rising with relentless severity. Following Norman custom, he executed hardly any one. He did, however, what was worse; he blinded, or cut off the feet of the humbler followers of the rebels. The leaders received treatment more gentle and were exiled or imprisoned. One leader he put to death. Waltheof had been a great English earl under Edward the Confessor, and, in later days, many of the English looked upon him as their natural leader. William watched him closely, and accused him of a share in the rising of 1075. Probably Waltheof was innocent,

but, fearing that he was disloyal, William caused him to be beheaded. No Norman guilty of treason met with the fate of this Englishman: The one man on whom William inflicted the death penalty belonged to the subject race.

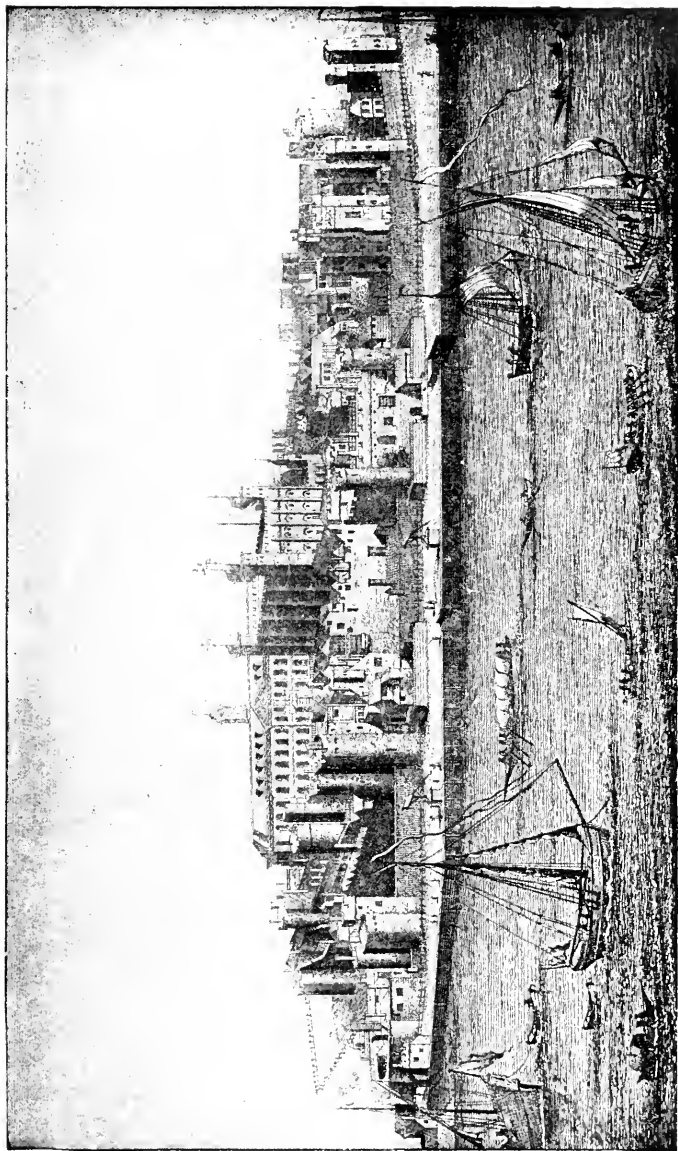
The Gemot at Salisbury, 1086.—William never succeeded in forming a united English nation. That was the task of his great-grandson, Henry II. But he did make every one acknowledge his sway. Probably by an accident of the Conquest, the estates of his great vassals were scattered over many counties. Their power was thus divided, and William spared no effort to make sure that they should obey him. At last, in 1086, when Domesday Book was completed, he summoned all landholders to meet him in a "Great Gemot" on Salisbury Plain. Thousands gathered, and from each one William required, as high above all other duties, a direct oath of allegiance to himself. Every lesser duty of great and small landholders alike must yield to the supreme duty of serving the king. William changed the name of the Witenagemot to that of the Great Council. He enlarged it, too, for now it was composed of all his tenants-in-chief. Three times in the year he summoned them to meet him, and by keeping the members, in this way, ever under his eye, William made himself the one all-embracing power in the land. Without his license a baron could not build a castle, or even hunt on his own estate. Of course the barons chafed at this control and only long after, under Henry II, was their power finally broken.

Church courts established in England.—In the church William found a steadfast ally. Lanfranc, the new Archbishop of Canterbury was an Italian, who had practised law until religious zeal led him to become a monk. He was shocked at the dense ignorance of the native clergy, and the general slackness of clerical life. Reform was greatly needed. Lanfranc removed to the important towns the seats of the bishops, who, in the old England, had lived often in obscure villages. He put Norman bishops and abbots in the places of Englishmen, now considered either unprogressive or disloyal. To the bishops he gave new power.

They now secured the right to maintain their own courts, in which accused clergy and cases touching religion were tried. This right caused trouble to later kings of England, but at first it brought to the church new unity and vigour. There was a limit to what William was ready to concede. When the Pope asked him to admit that he held England as the church's vassal, he sternly refused, and insisted that, until he consented, no Pope should be recognized in England, no synod held, no subject excommunicated.

The New Forest.—William's later years were gloomy. His eldest son, Robert, who had no share in the spoils of England, demanded Normandy during his father's life time. William refused, and, in a struggle that followed, the rebellious son nearly killed his father with his own hand. William's beloved queen, Matilda, died in 1083, and the lonely man was not softened by his sorrow. Nothing shows more clearly how ruthless he could be than his creation of the New Forest. He had a passion for hunting, and for this pursuit he needed a great park. In England he lived chiefly at Winchester, and, since the park near Winchester was small, he proceeded to add to it some of the surrounding country. To do this he swept away the homes of many people, whole villages, and even churches, and seemed to delight in the ruin he wrought for his own selfish pleasure.

The death of William the Conqueror.—It was when working destruction in France that William met his death. He and the king of France quarrelled over the control of the territory known as the Vexin. While William lay at Rouen, undergoing treatment for his unwieldy corpulence, a brutal sneer of the French king was reported to him. His wrath burst forth. He marched into the Vexin at harvest-time, destroyed the grain as it stood in the fields, and took and burned Mantes, the capital. As he rode through the desolated town his horse stumbled over burning embers, and he received a mortal injury. His mind was clear to the last. He had always been sincerely religious, and now, with the deep sense of sin, which is so profound a trait



THE TOWER OF LONDON AS IT APPEARED IN 1760

The square keep (the White Tower) with the four turrets was built by William the Conqueror in 1078 on the site of an older castle.

of his age, he saw and acknowledged the evil in his life. He ordered Mantes to be rebuilt from his immense hoards, left gifts to charity in expiation for the bloodshed he had caused in England, and admitted that he had no rightful claim to its crown. In those days, when a king died, every one did what he liked until a new king made good his authority. William's attendants stripped his body almost naked, seized what they could, and rushed away to guard their own interests. The dead Conqueror was carried to Caen for burial. During the service a man named Asceline shouted out that William had robbed him of the land in which the interment was to take place, and the service stopped until the claim was settled. The incidents are characteristic of the age. Everywhere we meet violence, but we meet, too, the constraining power of a religion that has dire terrors for the sinful.

4. THE EXACTIONS OF WILLIAM RUFUS

William Rufus "the Red King," 1087-1100.—While William lay dying, he admitted freely that he had no right to name his successor; from his deathbed, however, he dictated a letter to Lanfranc, favouring William, his second surviving son. William hurried to England with this letter, and it was really Lanfranc who made him king. He was crowned in 1087, apparently without election by the Witan and with no sanction but his father's wish and the archbishop's act—a striking evidence of the power of the church and of the weakness of national life. The crown did not belong to William by right of birth; his elder brother Robert was alive and claimed to be the lawful heir. William proved a vicious ruler. This strong, fat, red-faced monarch, with restless eyes, and a profane and rash tongue, violated most of the decencies of his time. Yet he had something of his father's vigour and daring. In almost the last year of his life, when mounted for hunting in the New Forest, he heard bad news from the continent. Setting spurs to his horse, he rode alone to Southampton, sprang into the

first ship he saw, a crazy craft, and ordered the crew to go out to sea. They protested that a storm was gathering. "Kings never drown," said Rufus, and sailed away.

The English aid the king to crush the Norman barons, 1087.—William Rufus, like his father, found it a difficult task to check the barons. He had not ruled nine months before they broke out into revolt. They wished to make William's easy-going brother Robert king, feeling certain that he would put upon them no restraining hand, but would let them do as they liked. Had their plan succeeded, England would have been held by a horde of Norman nobles, able to defy the king, and to coerce the conquered English at pleasure. The peril was real, and William appealed to the English for help against their Norman oppressors. For the first time a Norman king found the chief basis of his security in the support of the despised English. William took by storm, or starved into surrender, the strongholds of the rebels, and was at last secure, secure, too, by the aid of the conquered nation.

The exactions of Ranulf Flambard.—When strong enough, William made the barons feel his heavy hand. He saw that his feudal rights as sovereign could be made to serve his purpose, and he found in Ranulf Flambard (the Fire-brand) one who would do the work he required. He gave him the office of justiciar, or chief minister, of the king, and in the end, with no regard for decency, made this man of evil life Bishop of Durham. With fiendish ingenuity, Flambard pressed every claim that the king could urge upon his tenants. When a tenant died, he made the heir pay a heavy fine before he could take possession of his lands; when a child was owner, the king, the legal guardian, wasted the estate until little was left; when an unmarried woman inherited a feudal holding, the king sometimes sold to the highest bidder the right to marry her (p. 57). With the money thus extorted William kept up a mercenary army, which put stern pressure on his foes. "Justice slept and money was lord," says a writer of the time.

The rise of chivalry.—Yet, in spite of this violence, we

find in the age a new spirit of brotherhood, for chivalry now becomes important in England. It was a league of knights under lofty rules of conduct, inspired by love of adventure and of war. The aspirant to knighthood went through a long apprenticeship. From the early age of seven, he served one already a knight as page, cleaned his armour and weapons, sometimes even groomed his horse and performed other menial services. At fourteen he chose a lady as the special object of the often fantastic devotion to the gentler sex which plays so large a part in the system. He was finally ordained to service as a knight by a very solemn ritual. After fasting, prayer, and confession of his sins, he partook of the sacrament, and made his sacred vows. To be loyal to God and to the king, to be true in all his undertakings, to prefer honour to gain, to be pure, to reverence purity in women and to serve them, were among the pledges of the knight. Chivalry was a league among those of gentle blood, and its obligations even to women did not extend to the lower classes; but it was in itself a lofty code for an age of brute force, and helped to make war more merciful and to keep high ideals before the mind.

The Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, 1071.—It was in the days of William Rufus that the Crusades began, and they were largely inspired by the spirit of chivalry. Christian pilgrims had long flocked to the Holy Land, devoutly hoping to gain spiritual benefit by looking upon the scenes of Christ's life, by treading the sacred soil which His feet had trod. For some four hundred years, the Arabs had held Jerusalem. As Moslems, they despised the Christians, but they allowed them to have access to the holy places connected with Christ's life and death. Now, however, the Arabs were themselves conquered by savage Turks, who swept down from central Asia and made themselves masters of Jerusalem in 1071. Soon everything was changed for the Christian pilgrims. They were shut out from the holy places, they were brutally treated, robbed, often even killed.

The First Crusade.—The Turks advanced westward into Asia Minor. The Christian Emperor, Alexius, who ruled

at Constantinople, was powerless to check them, and turned to Europe for aid. He and the oppressed Christians of Jerusalem begged Urban II for help and at last, this able Pope took up their cause with fervour. He called a council to meet at Clermont in southern France, in 1095, to consider the situation. When crowds obeyed his call, the Pope made a passionate appeal to the multitude to come forward and take a red cross, which was fastened on their dress, as the sign of a pledge to join in the rescue of the Holy Land. Thousands were seized with the desire to join in the holy war; the movement is one of the most amazing in history. Peter the Hermit, an eloquent man, and one of the outraged pilgrims, had returned to Europe, and he went from town to town telling the tale of his sufferings with a fiery eloquence that attracted attention. Since the pilgrims were very numerous, nearly every family in western Europe had some relative in the East. The excitement on the question grew intense. In 1096, vast multitudes set out. Some went by land, some by sea. Great numbers perished on the way, but the crusaders did what they aimed at doing. In 1099, they took Jerusalem, with a terrible slaughter of its Moslem inhabitants, and set up there a Christian kingdom.

William Rufus secures Normandy, 1096.—William Rufus was no crusader, for he hated the Christian religion and was not likely to do anything to aid it. On the other hand, his brother, Robert of Normandy, was devout and generous, and precisely the type of man to join such a movement. He pledged himself to go to the East, but was so poor that he had no money to equip his force for the expedition. In the end, he borrowed ten thousand marks from Rufus, and, as security for the debt, handed over the control of Normandy, which William kept for the rest of his life.

At the height of his defiant career, William Rufus was struck down while hunting in the New Forest. An arrow, shot we know not by whom, pierced his brain, and he was found dead. Some labourers carried to Winchester the body dripping with blood. It was laid in a tomb in the cathedral, but no Christian rites were permitted over so evil-living a

king. "God shall never see me a good man," he had once said, "I have suffered too much at His hands;" and he was true to his word.

5. HENRY I, "THE LION OF JUSTICE"

Henry I, 1100-1135.—Robert had not returned from the East, and no absent claimant had any chance of gaining the crown. His younger brother, Henry, was hunting with Rufus and now acted promptly. He hurried to Winchester, seized the royal treasure, and gained success by his vigour.



**ROBERT, DUKE OF
NORMANDY
(1054 ?-1134)**

From his tomb
The crossed legs
are supposed to
denote a crusad-
ing vow.

A hasty meeting of a few leading men confirmed his title to the crown. He won the church and other interests by lavish promises of reforms. On the day when he was crowned he issued a Charter of Liberties which condemned in every line the rule of Rufus. To ensure the support of the English people, Henry soon married a princess of the old English royal line. His bride was Edith, known as queen by the Norman name of Matilda, or Maud, the daughter of the sainted Margaret, queen of Scotland, and the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside (see table p. 42). It is through her that the present royal house is descended from Alfred the Great. The marriage helped to win for Henry the support of the English people.

When Robert of Normandy claimed the throne of England, as the eldest son of the Conqueror, the masses of the English stood by Henry. In the end he was able not merely to hold England but also, by the aid of an English army, to conquer Normandy and to add it to his dominions. Hastings was indeed avenged when the despised English thus humbled the proud Normans.

The struggle about investiture.—Henry had a quarrel with the church. Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc, had been

driven into exile by William Rufus, because he would not admit the king's claim to tax the English church and to direct its policy. Much to the joy of the English, Anselm came back when Henry secured the throne. But new disputes soon arose. The church now claimed an authority independent of the state, in order to be free to carry on its spiritual work. Anselm refused to do homage (p. 57) to the king for the lands of his see, and he would not accept at Henry's hands investiture, a ceremony in which the king handed a bishop a pastoral staff and a ring, as symbols of his office. Anselm's claim was that, since the king had no right of control over the clergy, it was not fitting that he should install a bishop in office. Henry retorted that Anselm's predecessors had made no such claims. The result was that Anselm lived abroad until a compromise was at last reached, in 1107. It provided that ecclesiastics should still do homage to the king for their lands, but that in future they should receive from the church alone the symbols of their spiritual office.

The strong rule of Henry I.--There is little in Henry's reign to excite admiration, except that he gave England peace. His devout demeanour stands in favourable contrast with the impiety of his predecessor, but his impurity, untruth, cruelty, cunning, and avarice show that he was in morals not greatly superior to that wicked king. For his time he was highly educated. He is said to have studied Greek, and he knew Latin, English, and, of course, his mother-tongue, French. Yet he was not superior to the barbarism of his age, and once, at least, took revenge by putting out the eyes of innocent children. He had the passion of his race for hunting. No baron might cut down the forests on his own estates, or hunt in them, without the royal permission, and the dogs in the neighbourhood of forests were maimed, lest they should disturb the king's sport. Henry's virtue as a ruler is that he showed self-control and minute diligence. The "Lion of Justice" his people called him, and he ruled with a sway, even-handed, and impartial, but often oppressive. His hand was felt

everywhere. Officials, known as Barons of the Exchequer, went up and down the country to see that the king secured the large sums due from taxes and fines levied in his courts. He was as grasping as his father had been.

The failure of a direct male heir to the throne.—When the long reign of Henry was drawing to its close, he was troubled about the succession. His heir, William, while crossing the Channel, was drowned, in 1120, in the wreck of the *White Ship*. One child remained to Henry, his daughter Matilda, or Maud, and he resolved that she should be queen. It was not a happy choice. A woman ruler was almost unknown at the time, and, moreover, Matilda herself was arrogant and tactless. After her husband, the emperor Henry V, died in 1125, she married Geoffrey, Duke of Anjou, and bore a son, destined, as Henry II, to be perhaps the ablest of all the kings of England. Henry I made his barons swear to support Matilda's claims, and among those who gave their solemn oath was Stephen, Earl of Blois, the son of Henry's sister Adela. The oath thus taken was not kept. Henry died suddenly in Normandy in 1135, and when they made his tomb in the abbey which he had founded at Reading, it was not his daughter who reigned in England. Stephen of Blois had hurried across the Channel to find the London merchants in a state of terror before the prospect of lawlessness under a woman ruler. He seized the royal treasure, the Londoners were uproarious in their applause, and he was duly made king.

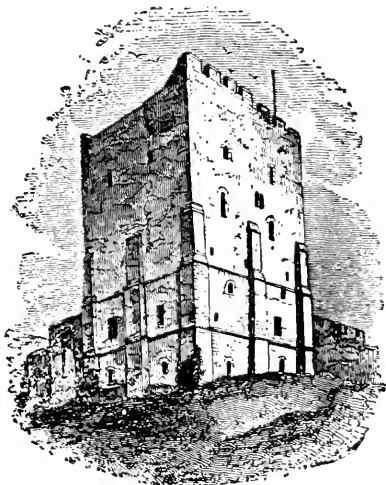
6. ANARCHY UNDER STEPHEN

Stephen, 1135-1154.—The reign of Stephen proved one of the darkest in English history. The Norman kings had established a despotism which needed strength in the ruler, and Stephen was not strong. He was gentle, brave, and generous; his manners were affable; on occasion he could act with decisive energy; but he proved rash and reckless. Insecure from the outset, he won support by lavish promises. The barons quickly recovered their old independence, and

each baron soon became a law to himself. The king's government almost ceased to exist; the law courts did not sit; taxes were not collected. Stephen brought hired soldiers to England, and, when he could not pay them, they paid themselves by robbery. He debased the coinage, and, by thus making credit insecure, nearly ruined the business of the merchants. His brother, Henry, the powerful Bishop of Winchester, had helped to put him on the throne, and Stephen had promised to guard the church's liberties. But he broke this promise too, and, by seizing church property, alienated his own brother. Stephen was able to check one powerful assailant. In 1138, the Scots invaded England to support his rival Matilda, but they met a decisive check in the Battle of the Standard. At Hastings, the English peasants had not known the use of the bow; now, chiefly with its aid, they broke the charge of the Scots, who fled in wild disorder.

Civil war in England.—

The empress Matilda herself landed in England in 1139, and civil war followed. The church now threw its great weight with Matilda and formally acknowledged her as queen. She took Stephen prisoner, and, for a time, it looked as if she could



PORCHESTER CASTLE, BUILT ABOUT 1150

Note the few windows to lessen danger from attack.

hold the throne. But she lost friends by her arrogance. To follow the struggle would be vain. The foundations of order were broken up, and England fell into such cruel disorder that pious minds declared that Christ and the saints must be asleep: every one, it was said, did what was *wrong* in his

own eyes. To realize the state of the country is to understand the horrors certain to result in a lawless age if the king proves weak. The barons built hundreds of strong castles.



STEPHEN

From a silver coin of his
reign

When thus safe from attack, they engaged in cruel robbery, plundered the helpless peasantry, and invented new tortures to force concealed treasures from their victims. Bands of outlaws burned or sacked Nottingham, Winchester, Lincoln, and other towns. The plunderers destroyed even the crops in the fields. "You might go," says a writer of the time, "a day's journey, and not find an inhabited village, or an acre of tilled land." England had a vivid object lesson in the need of union under a strong king.

The disorder lasted for nearly seventeen years. When Stephen was growing old, his heir, Eustace, died. All were now weary of the struggle, and, to end it, Stephen accepted Matilda's son Henry, as his heir. Stephen died in 1154. Bad as was the reign it was not wholly fruitless. The power of the church grew for she alone could offer a secure haven, amid the prevailing anarchy. One hundred and nineteen monasteries were built during the reign, and they helped to check the barbarism that was sweeping over the country. In those lawless days, one of the greatest lawyers of the time, Vacarius, came from Italy to England to lecture upon law, and to teach new conceptions of order. So true is it that often, in what seems the darkest hour, new forces making for progress are already at work.

TOPICS

I. Why Norman influence was strong under Edward the Confessor. The course of events which led to the choice of Harold as king of England.

II. Had William, Duke of Normandy, any rightful claim to the throne? Why Harold was in danger from the north and how he ended it. Was

it inevitable that the Normans should win the battle of Hastings? Who made William king?

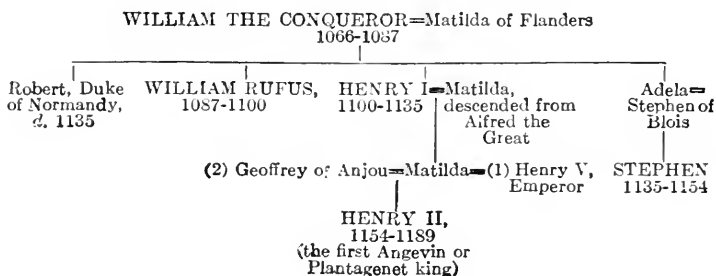
III. Why William ravaged the north. What were William's relations with Scotland? Did the Norman Conquest mean the overturn of the old laws of England? What rights had the king under feudalism? Why was Domesday Book made? What policy on the part of William did the Gemot of Salisbury indicate?

IV. How was William Rufus able to carry on exactions? What led to the First Crusade? How did William Rufus manage to secure Normandy?

V. Why did the English give Henry I strong support? What was the investiture question, and how was it settled in England?

VI. Why was there anarchy under Stephen?

THE NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND



CHAPTER IV

THE FORMING OF THE ENGLISH NATION

I. THE UNION OF THE NATION UNDER HENRY II

Henry II, 1154-1189.—THE weakness of Stephen had invited anarchy. Now came to the throne a young man, strong, resolved to be master, eager to strike down baron or bishop who stood in his way, a keen student of law, and



HENRY II

From his tomb at Fontevrault

so the enemy of lawlessness. When, at twenty-one, Henry II added England to his other dominions, he was ruler of many and varied realms. From his father he inherited Anjou* and adjoining regions; from his mother, Normandy and England; through his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, he controlled that great state, a good part of southern France, which continued for three hundred years to be ruled by the kings of England. He was master of the sea-coast from the Pyrenees to the Low Countries; on the continent he ruled twice as much territory as did the king of France.

A great part of his life was passed in toilsome journeys through his many realms, to no one of which he wholly belonged. Lord of many lands, he was in reality without a country.

The character of Henry II.—Henry, red and freckled, with a powerful frame, short-cropped hair, and square face,

* Henry's line is called the Angevin line, and sometimes the Plantagenet, from the bit of the plant *genet*, or broom, worn by his father Geoffrey in his helmet.

is the picture of coarse-fibred vigour. His mind and body were ever active; even at mass he would write busily. He often yielded to sudden impulses. He might summon his great men for a council, and, when they obeyed his summons, it would be found that he had gone off for a day's hunting. He moved about with amazing rapidity. "The king of England does not ride or sail, he flies," said the king of France. The disorder surrounding Henry was compared to the chaos of the infernal regions. He cared nothing for comfort, and there was scarcely a trace of ceremony at his court. Visitors might come and talk to him wherever they could find him, at dinner, in church, even in bed. We find in him a strange mixture of good and evil. He was fond of reading and of the society of learned men. For suffering he showed a pity that was rare in his time and class. He built, indeed, few churches and monasteries, but he founded many hospitals and refuges for the poor. He loved justice. He was, however, no saint. At times his temper was ungovernable, and then his words were wild, his actions those of a madman, for he tore his clothes, and, in his rage, rolled on the floor, and gnawed the straw. He had a passionate love for his children, but he used them as pawns in his game of politics, and expected them to submit. It was their disobedience that brought dark clouds upon his later years.



Henry's dispute with Becket.—It was not long before Henry became involved in a bitter quarrel with the church. As we have seen (p. 59), the church had her own courts for the trial of clergy accused of crime. Rightly or wrongly Henry became convinced that, while the state courts were punishing crime severely, the church courts shielded clerical criminals. When he tried to lay hands on some of these offenders, he was warned that the church alone had authority to deal with this class. When he taxed the clergy, they protested that the state had no right to take what was for the service of God alone. To a king of Henry's imperious temper, such checks were maddening, and he formed the resolve to judge and to tax the clergy as he did his other subjects.

Soon after Henry became king, he made Thomas à Becket his chancellor. Becket, the son of a wealthy London merchant, was one of the clergy, and held the rich post of Archdeacon of Canterbury. His private life was pure. Since Henry's own life was far from this, it is to his credit that he should have made an intimate friend of Becket. Now he relied upon Becket to carry out his policy, and he was not mistaken. Becket forced new taxes from the clergy, which they paid under bitter protest, and he was so little clerical that he donned a helmet and fought at the head of Henry's troops. He was handsome and cultivated, and loved pomp and state. Here, surely, Henry thought, was the man to advance still farther and to put at the very head of the church. Accordingly, in 1162, Becket, at the age of forty-four, became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Becket, though a courtier, was an honest man who cared, and cared profoundly, for the church's work. As its head in England, he now saw that he must guard its interests against the attacks of the king, and Henry soon found that in Becket he had raised up an arch-enemy of his policy. A furious quarrel followed quickly. Becket was obstinate, and his own friends found him unreasonable. Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, an abler man and as good a churchman, once, after long and vain remonstrances, said to Becket

bluntly, "You were ever a fool, you are still one, and you will always be one." As soon as he became archbishop he adopted an austere mode of life. He rose in the night for prayer; at daybreak he engaged in the study of the Scriptures; daily, he washed the feet of thirteen poor men, and served them at table; beneath his rich garments he wore a hair shirt. In these ascetic habits, and in his opposition to the king's policy, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. He believed that the church must be free to rebuke even kings, and that, to be free, she must have complete control of her own servants.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.—

When Henry found that he could not rely upon Becket's support, he called the Great Council (p. 59) to meet him at the royal hunting-seat of Clarendon in 1164. Becket was, of course, there, and Henry demanded that he should assent to the "ancient customs" of the realm. Becket, anxious to appear as claiming only undoubted rights, promised to do so. Then he saw that he had been trapped. What were the vague customs which he thus undertook to accept? Henry soon made this clear. A committee, composed of the oldest and wisest of the barons, drew up hurriedly, within nine days, a document famous in history as the Constitutions of Clarendon. In sixteen articles it defined the ancient customs. There were to be no appeals to Rome without the king's consent, and none of the higher clergy might even leave the kingdom without this consent. The most important point, however, was that respecting clergy charged with crime. It was now declared that such persons must first appear in a secular court to plead guilty or not guilty. If they claimed the right to be tried in a church court, they might then go, in charge of a royal officer, to such a court. It could, however, decide only guilt or innocence. Persons found



THOMAS À BECKET
(1118?-1170)
From his seal

guilty were to be degraded from their clerical office and then returned to the secular court for sentence. The result would be that clergy who committed murder, for instance, would be executed exactly as were lay criminals. For six days Becket fought the proposals clause by clause. The debates ended, and the king demanded that Becket should affix his seal to the customs "I will never seal them, never, as long as I breathe," said Becket. He withdrew to Winchester, full of remorse that he had given even a verbal promise to obey the customs. Nine months later, he again met the king in a council at Northampton, but he was still

firm, and, at length, boldly announcing his appeal to Rome, he escaped from Northampton in disguise, and passed over to the continent.



MURDER OF BECKET

The murder of Becket, 1170.—The strife with Becket went on for six years. At last, in 1170, some kind of peace was made and, with the king's leave, Becket returned to England. Yet the quarrel was not at an end. Roger, Archbishop of York, had been suspended from office by the Pope, because he had crowned Henry's son as king, in the face of protests that the right to do this belonged to Becket. Now, on landing, Becket was met by an insistent

demand that he should absolve Roger and two other suspended bishops. This he declined to do. When Henry

was keeping Christmas on the continent, the three bishops, who had hurried across the Channel, fell at his feet and told their story. In a passion, Henry burst out, "Will none of the cowards who eat my bread rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights thought this a warrant to use force with the archbishop, and before they slept, on that Christmas Eve, they took a solemn vow to make him yield. On the evening of December 29th, they appeared before Becket at Canterbury, and demanded his submission. He would yield not a jot to their threats. Then, in savage anger, the knights committed a terrible crime. They slew Becket in Canterbury Cathedral.

The invasion of Ireland, 1171.—All Europe was aghast at the murder and no one was more horror-stricken than Henry himself. After such a tragedy, the church might take strong action, and, to be out of the way for a time, Henry now did what he had long planned: he went to Ireland to make it a part of his realms. That island, so strong when it sent out missionaries to Scotland and England (p. 23), had fallen upon evil days. The Danes had harassed it, but confined their attacks to the sea coast. The interior remained divided among tribes, as England had been divided until it was forced into unity by the Norman conqueror. These tribes warred on each other, and made Ireland ever weaker against outside attack.

Henry II, lord of Ireland.—From the first, Henry II had seen that Ireland was needed to round out his dominions. Recently, Dermot, an Irish chieftain, at war with his neighbours, had appealed to Henry for help, and Henry allowed Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed "Strongbow," to go with some followers to Ireland. "Strongbow" married the daughter of Dermot, and was soon in a fair way to master the country. Henry had no desire to see one of his own nobles supreme in Ireland. Moreover, if he went there himself, he could delay the penalties for Becket's death. So he gathered together four thousand troops and landed in Ireland in the autumn of the year 1171. None of the warring tribes could rival such a display of force, and before

Christmas they had all, with the exception of the ruler of Connaught, acknowledged Henry as overlord. Henry spent six months in Ireland. During this time, he placed garrisons in a few of the coast towns and established some English followers, chiefly at Dublin. His so-called conquest of Ireland meant little more than the planting of these few English in the country. Yet, since the Irish acknowledged him as overlord, he and his successors from that time have claimed the rights of rulers over the island. Henry's son John became "lord" of Ireland; many years later, Henry VIII changed the title to that of "king."

Henry's reconciliation with the church.—On Easter Day, 1172, Henry sailed away from Ireland, knowing that many troubles awaited him elsewhere. He had now to make peace with the church over the brutal murder of Becket, and to do this was his first care. He was obliged to accept terms unwelcome to him. Of the question of the trial of accused clergy nothing was said, and on that point he seems to have had his own way. But he had to admit the right of appeal to Rome by his subjects in causes ecclesiastical, and he promised expiation for the rash words which had brought about the death of Becket. Henry did not go to Canterbury until 1174. When he did he knelt in lowly penitence at the tomb of Becket and allowed each of the clergy who were there, some eighty in number, it is said, to strike not less than three blows upon his bared back as a scourging for his sin. Throughout a whole night he remained in prayer in the great cathedral. This completed the reconciliation with the church, which was henceforth his steadfast friend.

Henry's defeat of the barons, 1174.—Such a friend Henry needed, for a host of enemies rose up against him. He had alarmed the barons by his steady resolve to check their lawlessness. Moreover, his policy now drove his own sons into a league against him. In this family strife lies the chief tragedy of Henry's history. He loved his children passionately and gave them great positions. In 1170, he even permitted his eldest son Henry to be crowned

king of England, and to his younger sons Geoffrey and Richard he gave territories on the continent. They kept up their separate courts with all the pomp of rulers. Yet they found that Henry would never yield them power real enough to lessen his own control of his dominions. Naturally, the sons grew restless, and the year 1173 saw Henry at the crisis of his life.

The young Henry demanded complete control of England or, failing this, of Normandy. When his demand was refused, he and his brothers joined a powerful conspiracy. Henry's wife Eleanor went so far as to put on male attire and to take the field with her sons against him. A crowd of English and Norman barons, William the Lion, king of Scots, Louis VII of France, and many others joined in the attack. The church, however, stood by Henry and the age believed that the spirit of Becket, appeased by Henry's penance, was a powerful ally. Only a few days after Henry's prayers at the tomb of the martyr, a courier burst into his bedroom at midnight to say that the king of Scots had been captured in the north. Everywhere Henry was victorious. He defeated the English barons and, henceforth, they dared not raise a hand against him; for the time he dictated terms to his own sons; and William the Lion was not given his liberty until he did homage to Henry as his vassal, a deep humiliation for the proud nation of the Scots.

Henry was on the throne for thirty-five years, and thus he had time to effect much. Striking results emerge clearly from his long labours.

The inquisition of sheriffs, 1170.—The king's authority was made effective everywhere in England. This had not been the case up to this time, for, in spite of William the Conqueror's efforts to check the barons (p. 59), some of them wielded power almost regal. They had the ancient right to hold their own feudal courts, in which they tried cases affecting their tenants. In each shire there was, besides, a shire, or county, court presided over by the sheriff (shire reeve). This important officer was supposed to

represent the king, but, in fact, he was usually a great baron who thus controlled the county court as well as his own feudal court. It was profitable for a baron to administer justice, since he pocketed the fines which he levied. If for no other reason than to get this money himself, Henry was resolved to take justice more completely into his own hands. He had, however, other reasons. In the lawless days of Stephen the barons had learned habits of violence. The prospect of getting impartial justice from such a class was not good, and impartial justice Henry was resolved that the English should have. Suddenly he took a strong step. The country was startled in 1170, when he dismissed most of the sheriffs who were barons and appointed his own men in their places.

The beginning of trial by jury.—The dismissal of the sheriffs was only part of a plan which Henry was carrying out. His Assize, or law, of Clarendon of 1166 outlined his policy. It provided that royal judges should be sent into all parts of England to enquire about disorder. It contained also the germ of trial by jury. To preserve order in the counties, Henry ordained in this law that twelve men in each hundred should be a jury whose duty it was to report for punishment the lawless persons in their districts. At first the jurors reported what they themselves knew. It was a later change that made them give their verdict on the evidence of other witnesses, as a jury now does. The changes which resulted from these steps were important. Before Henry died England was divided into circuits visited regularly by the royal judges to hold court, and, in every hundred, juries were hunting out and reporting for trial persons suspected of crime. Truly Henry II was a terror to evil-doers, great and small alike.

The Assize of Arms, 1181.—One other great thing that Henry did was to reorganize the defence of England. The chief duty required from a feudal vassal was military service (p. 57), and even bishops must give such service for the lands which they held. Since, however, it was hardly fitting for a bishop to take part in war, he had been

allowed to pay money in lieu of this service, and this money payment was known as scutage, from the *scutum*, or shield, of the knight for whose services it paid. Henry quickly found this money more useful than the less efficient military service of other vassals, and in the end he levied scutage on the barons too. It enabled him to pay an army which he might use anywhere. He reduced further the military power of the barons by issuing, in 1181, the Assize of Arms which revived the national army or *fyrð* of earlier days (p. 29), under the leadership, not of the great landowners, but of the king. By this law every freeman was required to hold himself ready to appear properly armed at the king's call, in order to resist invasion or to put down rebellion. Such a step must have done much to awaken national spirit. It was, indeed, the work of Henry II that finally created an English nation. At such a result Henry did not aim consciously. What he wished was to make his own authority effective; but he did more than this, he builded better than he knew.

Defeat and death of Henry II, 1189.—The last days of Henry II were lonely and unhappy. Though he had been able, in 1174, to defeat the attempts of his sons to gain greater independence, they were ready to strike again when the opportunity came. Henry and Geoffrey died before their father, but Richard, and John, the youngest son, leagued themselves with Henry's great enemy, the king of France. It is a long, sad story, the scene of which is laid not in England, but in Henry's dominions abroad. The old king was at last beaten. In 1189, he was forced to agree to hand over his Angevin dominions absolutely to Richard, and to release from allegiance to himself all who had given aid to that rebellious son. They carried him, sick and dying, to Chinon, his early home. John was the favourite son, for whose good he had specially toiled, and when they brought to him in his bed the list of those whose allegiance was to be transferred to Richard, the first name was John's. "Has John, my very heart, my darling child, indeed forsaken me?" cried Henry. He turned his

face to the wall and moaned: "Let things go as they will. For myself or for the world I care no more." During three days, while he lay dying, his servants robbed him of every valuable on which they could lay hands. When he was dead they stripped his body and left it naked upon the floor in the bare room. There were some, however, to restore order, and upon the day after his death Henry II was carried in royal state to the tomb at Fontevault.

2. RICHARD, CŒUR DE LION

The effect of the Crusades.—So well had Henry II done his work that, though his son Richard I, during a reign of ten years, stayed in England for only a few months, his throne was secure. Richard's heart was in that crusading

movement which had now been running its course for a hundred years (p. 64). During all this time thousands had gone to the East. Many of them were inspired by pure zeal to restore to the Christian world the places made sacred by Christ's life. Less exalted motives there were too. Some went in the hope of gaining lands and riches; others in mere search of adventure; while there were traders who went to buy and sell. It is not easy to estimate the effects of



RICHARD I

From his great seal. Note the flexible chain armour in contrast with the later plate armour.

the movement. Certainly it enlarged Europe's knowledge of the East. The travellers brought back sugar, cotton, muslin, lemons, melons, and many other things hitherto unknown in the West. They brought back, too, new conceptions of architecture and art that influenced the

building of churches, castles and houses. Yet, from the first, the enterprise was bound to fail. The success of the Crusades aroused the Moslem world to new efforts to recover Jerusalem, and the Christians proved weak in the time of danger. No single state existed in Europe capable of giving the continued support needed in the conflict. Instead, the leaders in the Crusades were often jealous of each other, and worked together only half-heartedly. Moreover, the warm eastern climate proved deadly to men who continued to keep up the military array of the West, and rode over burning sands in a crushing weight of armour. In time of peace they fell into luxurious Eastern ways. We need not wonder, therefore, that, after a long struggle, the Moslem leader Saladin re-took Jerusalem in 1187.



CRUSADING KNIGHT

Note the frequency of the cross.

Richard I, 1189-1199.—Richard, like a great many other leaders of his time, attempted with fiery zeal to recover what had been lost. To get money for his expedition to the East he even gave up the right of supremacy over Scotland which Henry II had wrung from William the Lion. Richard is reported to have said that he would sell London itself, if he could find a purchaser rich enough. While in the East, he fought with dash and heroism, but he achieved little. The best the Christian army could do was to secure a truce, which gave Christians, for three years, the right of access to the holy places. Richard, shipwrecked in the upper Adriatic on the way home, was seized and sold as a captive to the emperor Henry VI. Only after more than a year's imprisonment, and when

his overtaxed people promised a great ransom for him, was he free to return to England. He continued there but a few weeks, and he spent his remaining six years in war with Philip of France. In 1199, he was killed while besieging the petty castle of Chaluz-Chabrol.

The barons, the guardians of order.—The reign of Richard might have been disastrous to England, but was not really so. Though his people were obliged to pay heavily for his wars and his ransom, they yet took pride in the lion-hearted king, the most famous warrior of the age. Liberty grew in his absence. When William Longchamps, the chancellor, whom he left in authority, proved a bad ruler, the barons promptly drove him from the country. These barons were fighting now, not against order, but for it. We hear no longer, we rarely hear again in English history, the claim that they were their own masters. Henceforward, obedience to the laws is in their own interests, and it is in the interests of the people too. Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, governed England as regent for Richard. He had to raise great sums of money, and in each district he let juries assess the taxes. Though the amount of the taxes was still fixed by the Great Council, the people themselves began to determine how taxes should be paid. It was a step towards liberty.

3. THE TYRANNY OF JOHN

John, 1199-1216.—Arthur, son of Richard's elder brother Geoffrey, was heir to the throne under the law of hereditary right that we now recognize. Yet Richard's younger brother, John, became king; this Richard had wished, and this the Great Council, which had the power to name the king, decided. When John was crowned, Hubert Walter declared, in strong terms, this right of the nation to choose its king. John, he said, was chosen because he was the fittest of the royal line. It was not a happy choice, for John had a thoroughly base nature. He betrayed, in turn, every class in the state—the barons, the clergy, the people.

Though he was able, as were nearly all of the Plantagenets, he proved indolent and depraved. He appears to have had no religious faith, for he refused to receive the communion at his coronation. Richard showed for his faults passionate and generous remorse, but John's regret for vile crimes never rose above the level of guilty fear. He could be courteous and winning in manner, but when he gave way to passion he raved and swore, and chewed sticks and straw like a maniac.

The loss of Normandy, 1204.—The young Arthur fell into John's hands and disappeared. No doubt he was murdered, and every one believed that John had killed him. It was this crime that lost Normandy to John. Philip of France had long wished to secure Normandy. Richard had seen the danger and, to check Philip, had built the great Château Gaillard, the "Saucy Castle" on the Seine, blocking the way from Paris to the Norman capital, Rouen. This strong castle availed little, however, when Philip appealed to the Normans against John as a murderer. He attacked Château Gaillard, which fell after a terrible siege. John seemed dazed before this menace and struck scarcely a blow. In 1204, the tie between England and Normandy was broken, and that land, with Anjou, the home of John's race, and all that he held in northern France, passed out of his hands. John still held Aquitaine in southern France, and for more than two hundred years longer it was ruled by his house. The break with Normandy was final and meant much to England. English barons often had lands in Normandy also. Now they were forced to choose between Normandy and England, and those who remained English owed their country undivided service.

Excommunication of John, 1209.—John tried to recover



KING JOHN
From his tomb

his lost territory, but wholly failed. With blind folly he soon roused English anger against himself by his lawless deeds. He imprisoned innocent men, banished others without trial, ravaged their lands, and levied intolerable taxes. He sold justice in his courts. He used his legal right to the wardship of heirs, who were minors, in order to sell the custody of their property to the highest bidders;



CHATEAU GAILLARD
(After Turner)

he sold, also, the right to marry heiresses and widows of whom he was the guardian (see p. 57). After John had aroused the barons, his folly led him to quarrel with the church. Hubert Walter died in 1205, and this left vacant the office of Archbishop of Canterbury. Since the archbishop was always abbot of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, it was the practice for the monks to elect as abbot a person chosen by the king, after consulting the bishops of the province, and this person

became archbishop. Now, however, the monks did not consult John, but hurriedly chose their sub-prior and sent him to Rome to be confirmed by Pope Innocent III. When John learned this, he sent his own nominee to Rome without consulting the bishops. Thus both sides acted irregularly. The Pope did not like either nominee, and he named to the vacant see an English cardinal at Rome, Stephen Langton. John was furious. He swore that Langton should not set foot in England, and laid hands on the property of his see. To check John the resolute

Innocent placed England under an interdict. All the churches were closed; mass was not said; even the dead were buried without sacred rites. Yet John, we are told, was "wonderfully little disturbed." At last, the Pope excommunicated him. Soon after, he absolved John's subjects from their allegiance, and invited Philip of France to seize England, as he had already seized Normandy.

4. THE GREAT CHARTER

John's submission to the church, 1213.—John was beginning to see what his folly had done, and now, when he heard the prophecy of a holy hermit that, within ten days, he should cease to reign, he was seized with panic. The church could help him most, so he yielded to it on every point. He agreed to receive Langton as archbishop, and to restore the church's property. He went farther and did what no king of England had ever done, what William the Conqueror had steadily refused to do (see p. 60). In order to be sure of the Pope's support, he declared that he held England from him as lord, and swore to be his true vassal, and to pay him tribute. Even then John found that he could not count upon the church. The new archbishop proved to be a patriotic Englishman, and threw his weight with those who were resolved that John's misrule should end. The foes of John took the field, and, since every class in the realm was arrayed against him, he was helpless. On June 15th, 1215, at the demand of the outraged nation, he signed at Runnymede, near Windsor, the famous document known as Magna Carta.

The terms of the Great Charter, 1215.—In the Great Charter John's people summed up all the liberties that had been wrung from earlier kings, and forced John to agree to observe them. The following are the chief pledges that John gave:

1. The law must be obeyed even by the king. His lawless tyranny must cease. A man's property must be secure. John was to give up no old rights; he was still to be the

guardian of infant heirs and of heiresses; but he must not go beyond his rights, as he had done in wasting the property of his wards, and in forcing heiresses to marry any one he chose.

2. Personal liberty must be held sacred. No one was to be kept in prison, or punished, without lawful trial. Every one must have the right to justice in the courts and no verdict was to be given for money. Thus runs the famous document: "No freeman shall be seized, or imprisoned, or in any way brought to ruin, nor will we go against any man or send against him, except by the lawful judgment of his equals, or by the law of the land. To no man will we sell, or delay, or deny right, or justice."



WILLIAM MARSHALL
EARL OF PEMBROKE

3. No taxes but those authorized by the law might be collected. The king was to have his old right of aids from his tenants-in-chief when he was a captive, when his eldest son was knighted, and his eldest daughter married (p. 57). But no other taxes might be imposed without the consent of the Great Council, the nearest approach to a Parliament that the nation yet had. Earlier kings had sometimes taxed the nation; henceforth the nation, and the nation alone, might tax itself, a new right which meant that the king must always ask the nation for the money he needed.

It will be observed that the barons, who had frightened John into submission, laid no stress on the special rights of their order. What they secured, the people, as a whole, secured; all classes stood together for the liberties of the English nation. The barons were sure that John would violate the Charter, whenever he dared, and so they did a second thing that was new; they named twenty-five barons to watch the king, and John agreed to their right to coerce him if he broke

faith. Never before had a king of England fallen so low as to admit that his subjects might lawfully take up arms against him.

John repudiates the Charter.—John did violate the Charter and the Pope declared it null and void, because his consent, as John's feudal lord, had not been given. He summoned Langton to Rome to give an account of his conduct. The victory for the Charter seemed futile. John attacked the barons, won some successes, and committed many outrages. Then the barons looked round for a leader, and offered the crown to Louis, son of Philip of France. Louis came readily enough, showed himself a good soldier, and was in a fair way to win England. But fortunately at this crisis John died, possibly of poison, as in Shakespeare's play. His vices had united England against him; his death reunited her in favour of his son Henry, and against the foreign leader. The forces of Louis soon met with severe reverses. The loyalists were ably led by a man of high character, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, regent for the infant king, and Louis, seeing that the nation was on the side of the young Henry, wisely made terms and retired to France.

The reign of the king of England who had less desire to serve his people than any other of her rulers, is the most momentous in the history of English liberty. Earlier charters had vaguely outlined the nation's rights. Now, under a king whom no one could trust, these had been clearly defined in words. John was not the last of the kings of England who tried to play the tyrant but, after him, such rulers could be brought face to face with a solemn contract to rebuke their injustice.

TOPICS

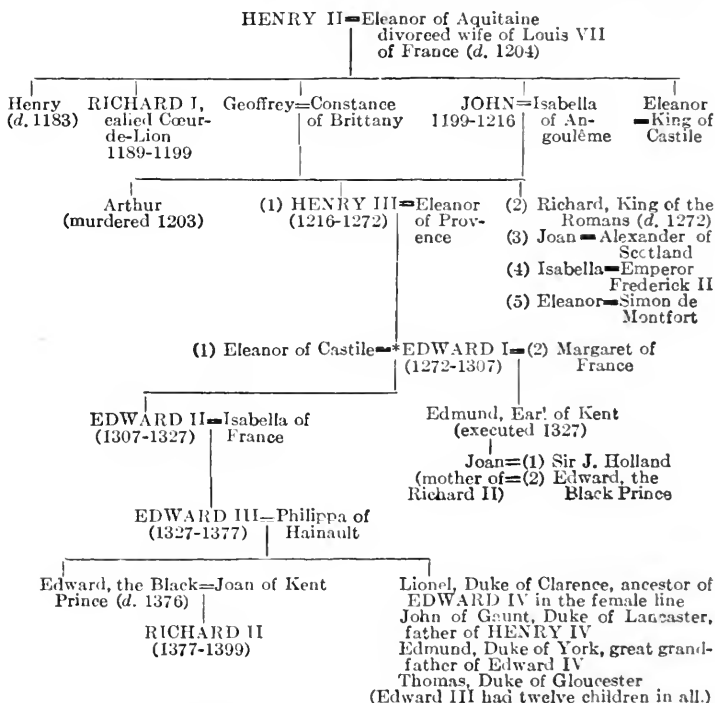
I. Why Becket opposed Henry II. What was aimed at by the Constitutions of Clarendon? Did Henry really conquer Ireland? Why the barons organized to fight Henry. The chief changes brought about in Henry's reign.

II. What evidence does the reign of Richard I furnish that Henry had done his work effectively and made the English a united nation?

III. Why did John lose Normandy, and what effect had the loss on England?

IV. Why John submitted to the church. What chief liberties did the Great Charter promise? What was new in the Charter?

THE ANGEVIN OR PLANTAGENET KINGS OF ENGLAND



* Eleanor bore Edward I in all four sons and nine daughters, and Margaret bore him two sons and a daughter.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE COMMONS

1. THE WORK OF SIMON DE MONTFORT

Henry III, 1216-1272.—In the little Henry III, England, for the first time since the Norman Conquest, had a child as king. This proved a real benefit; though the nation was divided by John's crimes, it could unite round his innocent son. The regent, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, was a high-minded man whose influence on the young king was good. Henry grew up to be pure in life, a tender husband and father, refined in taste, a lover of books and of art. He was devout and a builder of churches; it was he who replaced the Westminster Abbey of Edward the Confessor by the present noble structure. But Henry was, none the less, a bad king. He was headstrong and passionate; he had little insight, and designing foreigners used him for their own profit. English kings were still, we must remember, magnates in France, as rulers of Aquitaine, and there Henry spent so much time that he became really half foreign. He had no understanding of the English people, and his court, with French manners and speech, was almost an alien court in England.

Foreign influence under Henry III.—When William Marshall died, in 1219, his power fell into less worthy hands. At last, in 1227, Henry, at the age of nineteen, declared that henceforth he should himself rule. He was ill-fitted for the task. The church took seriously John's oath to be its vassal, and Henry renewed the vow to obey and to pay tribute. England seemed to have vast wealth. "London," Henry said, "has a surfeit of riches; it is an exhaustless well," and he was quite willing that some of this

wealth should go to foreigners. In 1236, he married a foreign princess, Eleanor of Provence. Soon her relatives flocked to England. Boniface, her uncle, a man who probably knew hardly a word of the language of the English people, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and dozens of other foreigners secured good posts. What Eleanor did for her relatives, the Pope did for his clergy. England was his vassal state, Henry had gone into debt to him, and it was therefore natural that swarthy Italians with strange foreign names, men who, in some cases, never put foot in England, should be given the best offices in the English church. They were appointed literally by the hundred, and, in 1240, the demand was made that three hundred more should be taken care of before anything went to Englishmen. Foreigners drew from England three times the revenue of the king.

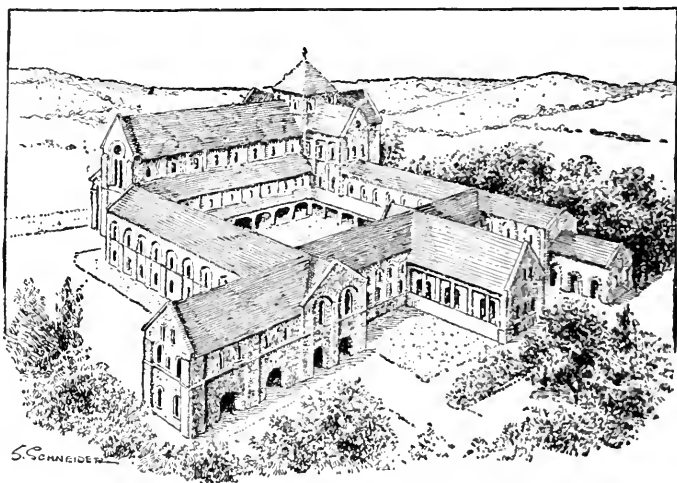
The exactions of Henry III.—The English had never been a meek-spirited people, and now they resented the intrusion of foreigners, and the loss of good things which they desired for themselves. Moreover, Henry was reckless and extravagant. He spent great sums in an attempt to regain Normandy, and in a mad effort to put his son Edmund on the throne of Sicily. To get the money, he levied unlawful taxes. His people demanded that he should obey the Charter. He signed it repeatedly, but as often violated its terms. Under him, no one's property was safe. He would visit an abbey, accept its hospitality, and then carry off the valuables he found there. He took the crusaders' vow repeatedly, and taxed the clergy for crusades never carried out. Even the foreign Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, with other ecclesiastics, made a dramatic protest. In a solemn service at London, they suddenly dashed lighted candles to the ground, and prayed, amidst the smoke, that all violating the Charter might likewise be extinguished. Henry was impressed, and promised by the help of God, and as a man, a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king, to be true to the Charter. Yet soon again he was carrying on the old illegal tyranny and no pledge could bind him.

Changes of the Thirteenth Century.—In an earlier age a king, such as Henry, might have broken faith in this way without serious consequences to himself. Now, however, there was abroad a spirit which made the older tyranny impossible. The changes of the thirteenth century are, indeed, very striking. At its beginning, the English had forced a reluctant king to agree to the terms of the Great Charter, and now they were resolved to make the ruler keep his pledges. This new spirit shows itself in other directions. In the coming of the friars, we find evidences of social and religious change; while the rise of the universities indicates the beginning of profound movements in thought.

The mediæval monastery.—The friars came to do a work that the monasteries had failed to do. In earlier times the monks had done useful service (p. 24). Indeed, the monastery was perhaps the most notable institution of the Middle Ages. A monastic house was organized on the principle of life in common. Its members met in the church at least six or seven times a day for prayer; they took their meals, they shared their employments together; daily in the chapter-house they confessed their faults in each other's presence and underwent penance. A well-regulated monastery was a scene of busy industry. Its head, the abbot, was occupied with the rule not merely of the monks under him, but also with the property of the house, consisting perhaps of a dozen manors. An abbey might have as many occupants as a large college of our own day. To each monk was assigned his task; he taught in the monastery school, or worked in the garden, or wrote the precious chronicles which are our chief sources of information for the life of mediæval England. The monastery often had a considerable body of lay workmen—millers, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, and blacksmiths—and it spent vast revenues upon building.

Life in the monastery had its own excitements. There might be lawsuits with the bishop in regard to his claim to regulate the monastery. Towns grew up on monastery

lands, and then there were dues to be collected and rights to be defined. There were appeals, sometimes to the king, sometimes to Rome. The monks journeyed far on the business of the convent; and they received in their houses many travellers from whom they heard much of the world's doings. Life in the monastery was thus often far removed



NORMAN MONASTERY

Conjectural restoration of Kirkstall Abbey as in 1190.

from the quiet that devotees may have wished. The claims of the world were sometimes too fully recognized. Some abbots lived in great state, took part in worldly ambitions and amusements, and neglected their religious duties. From time to time, reformers attacked the prevailing abuses and founded new orders of monks to enforce a stricter rule.

The mendicant orders.—The aim of the monk was to live apart from the world. Yet in that world, on which he turned his back, there was much that might be done. Busy towns were growing up, with their problems of crime, poverty, and disease, requiring the devotion of Christian

service. In time men arose to grapple with these needs. The most famous of these reformers is an Italian of a sweet and tender spirit, Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). His aim was to act as Christ had acted, to go about doing good among the sick and needy. In order to keep his followers in touch with the poor, he provided that they should remain beggars,—mendicants, dependent upon charity for their daily bread, as they went about preaching and serving the people. Another leader of similar spirit arose at the same time. When heretics, known as Albigenses, became numerous in southern France and northern Italy, Dominic, a Spaniard, went among them in the hope of winning them back by kindly instruction. If Francis pitied the suffering, Dominic pitied the ignorant. Even when Pope Innocent III proclaimed an armed crusade against the Albigenses, Dominic continued his gentler work of teaching. In time he founded the order of Dominicans, and Francis that of the Franciscans. Both orders soon began to work in England, the Dominicans in 1221, the Franciscans in 1224.

The friars in England.—Unlike the monks, who preferred the retirement of the country, the friars (*freres*, brothers) dwelt in the poorest quarters of the towns. There was much to be done. The townsmen of that day would not permit the needy and the neglected, who had not secured the rights of citizens, to dwell within the town. In consequence, many people lived in sordid misery outside the gates,—lepers suffering from the loathsome disease of leprosy, so common then, and beggars, who had come to the town in the hope of picking up a bare living as best they might. Few cared for these neglected poor, until the friars came. England had a harsh climate compared with that of their sunny home-land. Yet, even in winter, only the



CISTERCIAN MONK

sick and infirm friars wore shoes, and the footsteps of the others were sometimes stained by blood, as they picked their way with naked feet along the frozen roads. In spite of hardships, they were cheerful and joyous. The poor welcomed them, and it was not long before there were



FRIAR, THIRTEENTH
CENTURY

many friars in England, rebuking by their active service the isolation of the monks. The Dominicans were known as Black Friars, the Franciscans as Grey Friars, names due to the habits which they wore.

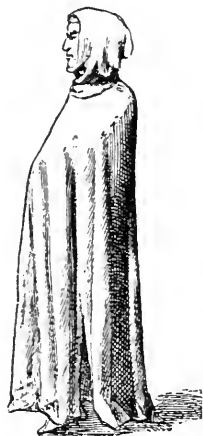
The rise of the universities.—The friars taught clearly man's duty to his fellow-man. He owed, also, a duty to himself, that of training his own mind, and that the age was ready to take to heart this other great truth, the rise of the universities shows. They were a natural growth from the conditions of the time. Since books were dear, those wishing to learn were obliged to find some living teacher. Such a central place as Paris had many teachers and many students. The teachers at Paris associated themselves in a society, and laid down rules under which new masters might get leave to teach. This society

they called by the name university (*universitas*), which means only a corporation or guild. In some places the students formed a university, or union, and in this way combined to control prices for rooms, books, and also the fees charged by the professors. The word university came to mean a body which regulated studies at a seat of learning. Oxford had been for centuries a place to which many came to study before, about 1180, it definitely took rank as a university. Henry II was engaged in one of his numerous wars with the French king, and at this time he summoned home all Englishmen studying at Paris. Many of them went to Oxford, where there were schools already important. This was the beginning of the University of Oxford. The

University of Cambridge appeared later. Its origin was due to a migration of students from Oxford, in the year 1208.

The rise of colleges.—In the English universities students multiplied rapidly. Many of them were mere boys and they lived not, as now, in stately colleges, but in bare and desolate lodgings, without the commonest comforts of modern life. In the evenings, the students, ripe for strife and violence, flocked into the narrow streets. Those of high rank sometimes had with them quarrelsome retainers, and no doubt old local jealousies and rivalries were often fought out in these Oxford brawls. When the friars went to Oxford, in 1221, they lived in their own house under strict rules. The advantages of this mode of life were soon apparent, and Oxford, accordingly, soon established colleges. They were, at first, houses founded by a bishop, or other pious donor, to shelter a limited number of needy students under rather strict rules. Teaching was left to the masters in the university. But in both these respects a change took place, in course of time. Rich, as well as poor went to live in the colleges, and it became necessary to employ teachers to give such lectures as were needed. The colleges acquired much property, and it was not long before both Oxford and Cambridge were adorned by some of the noble structures that endure still.

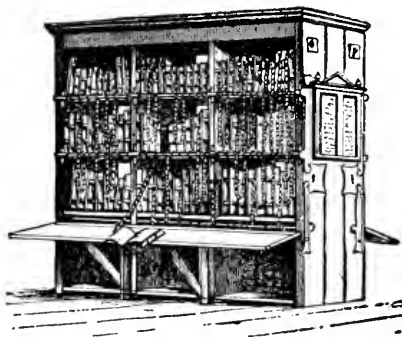
The courses of study.—Each student was attached to a master, who directed his studies and was also his protector. At lectures the master sat in his chair and the students stood or sat on the straw-strewn floor. At the head of the university was the chancellor, to whom the students were responsible for their conduct. He held his court and had his prison for law-breakers. Sometimes the town authorities



A THIRTEENTH CENTURY
PROFESSOR

Note the hood, then used
as a head-dress.

disputed his powers, which were independent of theirs, and collisions between "town" and "gown" often resulted in bloodshed. A student admitted to the university signed the *matricula* or roll, and was known as a *baccalaureus*, a word which means an apprentice to a guild. The goal of study was the master's degree. Barren enough were the



BOOK-CASE WITH CHAINED BOOKS, HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

studies at first. The "seven liberal arts" consisted of the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic), and the Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), and all secular knowledge was classified under these heads. Theology was less studied than we should perhaps suppose. It was the

most advanced course, and the right to teach it was carefully guarded. The science of the time was of course crude. Roger Bacon, (1214?-94) was a friar who taught at Oxford while the English were trying to check the many abuses under Henry III. Theology, mathematics, music, chemistry, medicine, logic, Arabic, Hebrew and Greek came within the range of his all-devouring curiosity. He was not free from the superstition of his time, but he was truly great in this, that he taught men to study nature and her laws and to believe more in knowledge and less in magic.

Simon de Montfort.—With such a spirit abroad the English only needed a leader to make petty tyranny like that of Henry impossible. The Barons met it by strong protests. In 1244, the Great Council demanded the right to appoint the king's ministers. Year by year, the demand was renewed, and the nation drifted slowly into civil war. Simon de Montfort now becomes the champion of English liberties. He was of Norman stock. His father, a noble of

Aquitaine, had shown great religious zeal in hunting down the heretics, called Albigenses, who rose in southern France early in the century. The younger Simon, a foreigner by birth, secured through his mother the title and lands of the earldom of Leicester. Soon after he settled in England, he married Henry III's sister, Eleanor. At first, the English barons resented the advancement of a foreigner, but by sheer force of character Simon became, in time, their leader. He was clear-sighted, devout, a man of unchangeable purpose.

Foreigner though he was, Simon read the need of England better than any one else. She was governed by a king, and the only check on his power was the Great Council, in theory composed of all the king's tenants-in-chief (p. 59), in fact consisting of only the chief barons and bishops. The great mass of those on whom the burdens of the state rested, the smaller landholders and the merchants, had no voice in the nation's affairs. The glory of Simon de Montfort is in having read the spirit of the time and in being the first to urge, with any effect, that political power should be shared with the men not noble, with the Commons, the common people. Those whom Simon had in view are what we call the middle class. Not for many centuries did any one claim that mechanics and labourers should have a voice in the government. What designs were working in Simon's deep mind when he began to champion the cause of the people, we do not know. Some whispered that he aimed at making himself king, but this is hardly likely. In any case he appealed to the people, and they loved him as no other leader in that age was loved.

The Provisions of Oxford, 1258.—By 1258, the majority of the barons had made up their minds that power must be taken out of the hands of the king. The lesser tenants-in-chief had the right to attend the Great Council, which we may now call the Parliament. They rarely did so, but the word went out that they should rally to a meeting called at Oxford. To this place now came many armed and resolute men, ready for civil war if it must come. They

adopted a famous measure, "The Provisions of Oxford," which shows that they were in deadly earnest. It declared that foreigners were to be expelled from England, and that government must be taken out of the hands of the king, and vested in various committees composed of barons. The king's friends jeered at this assembly as the "Mad Parliament," because so many untried men came to it and it was so frantically in earnest. But, none the less, the king yielded. He swore to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and in doing so to hand over his power to the barons. Simon de Montfort took control of the government, the great offices went to his friends, and soon the foreigners in England were hurrying to the seaports to get out of a country where they were hated. The resolve was now clear that England's riches should go to the English.

The Mise of Amiens, 1264.—Not yet, however, had the struggle ended. For a few years there was quiet. The young Edward, heir to the throne, was Simon's enemy. None the less was he his pupil, who had been trained in his principles, and taught to be, like Simon, a great soldier. Edward was convinced that the barons were right, and tried to make Henry observe the Provisions of Oxford. But Henry was determined to get back his lost power, and in this he was helped by some of Simon's allies, who had come to think the great leader too masterful. At last, both sides agreed to take the judgment of Louis IX of France as to the power which should be left in the hands of the king. Louis was a good man, a saint indeed, but he could not think that a king should be restrained, and his decision, the Mise, or settlement, of Amiens (1264) was that the Provisions of Oxford were null and void, and that Henry should name his own ministers.

The Commons summoned to Parliament, 1265.—Louis went too far. Simon would not accept the judgment, and civil war broke out. At first it went badly with the king. Simon defeated his forces with great slaughter at Lewes, and took both him and the young Edward prisoner. Then, to show that the nation was with him, he called its repre-

sentatives, in 1265, to meet in a Parliament. Of the barons only Simon's friends came. But the lesser men trooped up to discuss the nation's affairs. Each shire was asked to elect two knights; the lower clergy elected members to represent them and to sit side by side with mitred bishops; and, most unusual of all, two men came from each town, traders whom baron and bishop alike looked down upon. On special occasions, at any rate, all sat, it appears, in one great assembly. It was a bold stroke to bring together such varied elements, a stroke momentous for England and for mankind, for this was the beginning of the system of representative government which has spread from England all over the world.

Defeat of Simon, 1265.—The cause of Simon, like most great causes, suffered defeat at first. In Simon's captive, the king's son Edward, there was hope of good rule in the old way. He was a wise, strong man. Just after the Parliament of 1265, he escaped from Simon's control, rallied his forces, and met Simon in a great battle at Evesham. The fight was bitter, and no quarter was shown. Simon was defeated and slain, and his body was barbarously hacked to pieces on that fatal field. Becket had fought a king and so, too, had Langton. They were bishops. The first layman to lead the nation in checking the king was Simon de Montfort. His memory lingered long, and the people spoke of him as Saint Simon. He had seemed to fail, but in reality victory remained with his cause. The foreigners did not come back. The misuse of the king's power ceased. Those who had fought with Simon were readily forgiven. And all this happened because the weak Henry no longer really ruled. The young Edward was master, and he had the genius to see that Simon was right.

By 1270, so peaceful was England that Edward went off on a crusade to the East, and, when Henry III died, in 1272, the new king's sway remained secure, though he did not return to assume control until after two years.

2. THE REFORMS OF EDWARD I

Edward I, 1272-1307.—In Edward I, England had a ruler able and earnest, who understood the work he had to do, and would not spare himself in doing it. Tall, straight, slim and deep-chested, Edward was a model of manly vigour. All through life he took delight in feats of



EDWARD I

From his great seal. Note the elaborate head-piece as compared with William I and Richard I.

arms, and few equalled him in tilt and tournament. Nothing could daunt his spirit. On the morning of the battle of Falkirk, fought in his later years, his horse kicked him and broke two of his ribs; yet he rode into battle, and was in the saddle the whole day. Edward was the first king, since the Conquest, who was a thorough-going Englishman. He had the merits and defects of his race and time. He loved

truth and justice. He was honest, and his motto, "Keep Faith" was no empty phrase. Yet his vision and his sympathies were narrow. The warrior-king who prided himself on his chivalry, was generous only to persons of rank; he could order his followers to tear an eye and an ear from a plebeian youth who had crossed his path inopportunely. Though he gave wider liberties to the people, he did not know their minds; nor could he see why Welsh and Scots should not be willing to accept him, an alien with the sword in his hand, as their true and lawful ruler. Still, Edward was a good man and a great king. He toiled hard to bring about better and juster rule in England. Amid these labours he treasured in his heart the old dream which,

for two centuries, had haunted Europe, of winning back the Holy Land from the unbeliever. The crusading movement was dead, and Edward clung to it almost alone, when little of glory was to be won. "Though my soldiers and my countrymen desert me," he had said, when still a young man, "I will go alone to Acre with Fowin, my groom, and keep to the death my word and my oath." He went, as we know, and nearly perished in the East.

Edward's reform of the laws.—Edward showed himself always a great soldier, but he was also a great lawyer. Henry II had begun, in his rough age, a reform of the laws. Since his day there had been no strong ruler who could complete the work, until had come this king, deep in whose soul was a love of order and justice. When Edward ascended the throne, the written laws of England could be read through in half an hour; they consisted of the Great Charter, and three or four other documents. There were no formal Acts of Parliament, such as to-day fill a great many volumes. Ancient custom settled the relations of one man to another, and the courts enforced these ancient customs as binding; they were, in fact, what is known as the Common Law.

Some better system was needed, for England was a disorderly country. Crime was rife and was punished harshly. The theft of cattle and of horses was then, as it is now in the more unsettled parts of America, a common offence, and was usually punished by hanging. Baser crimes incurred even heavier punishment. The man guilty of issuing spurious coins was torn to pieces by horses. So common was the death penalty that the gallows and the gibbet, with their ghastly trappings, were found on nearly every large estate.

When the veil is lifted from a village, in the reign of Edward, we get a picture that staggers us. Almost by accident, the records of the Hundred of North Erpingham, for the year 1285, are still preserved. From them we learn that in one year, within a radius of twelve miles, eight men and four women were murdered, and three men and two

women were killed in fatal frays. Quite recently, the people of this district had seen eleven persons hanged; one man, for tampering with the king's coin, was torn to pieces by horses. The women were as savage as the men. In this hopeless and wretched society self-destruction was common; five persons committed suicide in a single year, and two of them were women.

Judicial reforms.—In France and other lands, reform of the laws was going on. Change was in the air, and Edward studied anxiously the needs of England. Though his mind was not original or creative, it was clear and practical, and he brought to a definite head many changes which had been proceeding slowly. He made extensive judicial reforms. Under Henry I the King's Court (*Curia Regis*) had still been only a committee of the Great Council (p. 59) which transacted every kind of business on which the king passed judgment. Henry II had increased its work by sending judges into all parts of the kingdom (p. 80). Now Edward I organized its duties more effectively. He completed its division into three branches. The Court of Exchequer dealt with matters affecting the king's revenues, the Court of King's Bench with those in which persons were accused of crime or with matters touching the king's rights, while the Court of Common Pleas dealt with cases in which Englishman brought suit against Englishman. Already we find the beginnings of an additional court destined to play a great part in English history. The king's chancellor, or secretary, sometimes considered special cases where the letter of the law did not strictly apply, and, in time, this work was handed over to a regular Court of Chancery which gave judgment on the basis not merely of law but of equity.

Reform of the laws.—Edward's greatest work, however, was in changing the law to meet the needs of the times. The merchants were a growing class, and he made laws which aided them to punish fraud and to force their debtors to pay. Lawless men sometimes broke into towns, set fire to the houses, and carried on pillage during the confusion: now Edward checked this by requiring towns to close their

gates at nightfall, and to oblige all strangers to give an account of themselves. Robbers infested the forests, still of immense extent, and robbed passing travellers; so Edward required that the land should be kept clear for two hundred feet on each side of the public highways, thus giving travellers the protection of open ground. Henry II had attacked robber barons in their huge castles; to Edward I fell the equally severe task of hunting down lesser outlaws, who dared not defy the king but who were ready to attack the weak wherever found.

Beginning with the great Statute of Westminster the First, in 1275, almost a new code of law in itself, Edward plodded on year after year, with the aid of learned lawyers, and the result of his efforts was the laying of the basis of the laws of England as they still endure. The law of entail by which the owner of a landed estate has only an interest for life and cannot sell it, is due to him; it has had a great effect in keeping estates in the same family for generations. Edward did not like to see the land pass into the hands of the clergy, but wished men to hold it who could go to war when called upon, and so he passed the Statute of Mortmain, in 1279, forbidding corporations like the church, which had only a "dead hand" (*morte main*) and could not fight, to acquire more land. Edward checked barons as well as churchmen. Up to this time, when a landowner parted with land, the new owner became his vassal, owing him military service and other duties. The statute, *Quia Emptores*, (1290) ended this by requiring the new owner to render such service, not to the man from whom he had obtained his land, but to the person who made the original grant, in most cases the king. This weakened the great landowners, for now, when once they parted with land, they had no rights over the new holder such as they had formerly enjoyed. A full account of Edward's laws would fill many pages. Their general effect was to begin a new era.

Edward's taxation.—Edward was always hard pressed for money, for, as we shall see, he waged many expensive wars. The Great Charter had asserted the principle that the king

might not impose new taxes without the consent of the Great Council (p. 88). One class in the state, the clergy, declared that only their master, the Pope, might tax them, and that for the Great Council or the king to take their money was to seize what belonged to God. Edward met this objection by saying that since the clergy would not pay to support the state, they should not be protected by its laws; if any one robbed or assaulted them, they should have no right to appeal to his courts. His attitude made the clergy see that they must do his bidding.

The Model Parliament, 1295.—In the end, Edward found it wise to call together all whom he designed to tax. He adopted the maxim that "what concerns all must be approved by all," and we find him doing what Simon de Montfort had shown him how to do, calling all classes, including the common people, to his councils. In 1295, he held what is called the Model Parliament. All classes were summoned,—the great men and also the lesser men, two knights from each shire, two traders from each town, and priests to represent the lower clergy. We are not quite sure, but it seems that all sat as one great body, and henceforth it was the representatives of the whole nation who voted Edward's taxes and passed his laws. The rights now given to the Commons were never, and could never be, withdrawn. At a later time this was made doubly sure, when, in 1322, Edward's successor issued a precise declaration that the Commons must always continue to have a part in taxation and legislation. Not long after, in the reign of Edward III, the principle of having two chambers was finally established. The great barons and the higher clergy sat apart from the commons and became the House of Lords; while the lesser barons, knights, and merchants sat, after 1341, in what was called the House of Commons. The division had results of which the Lords did not dream. It meant that the Commons must give their separate consent to all measures. After 1341, indeed, though the Lords might protest, the Commons equalled them in authority. Edward I laid the basis of modern English law; but he did a greater work still,

he brought into being, in its final form, the Parliament which speaks for all classes in the state, because in it all classes are represented. It is under Edward that the power of the people becomes real.

The expulsion of the Jews, 1290.—Sometimes Edward was ruthless and cruel. We find him such in his expulsion of the Jews. They were aliens in race and religion. Their chief trade was money-lending, and, in days when the interest on loans ranged from thirty to sixty per cent., prudent Jews soon grew rich. In the towns, they lived in a special quarter known as the Jewry, or the Ghetto. The law forbade them to hold land, and they were looked upon as mere chattels of the king. They were hated by the people not only on account of their prosperity but also because they would not accept the Christian faith. In 1290 the final blow fell. No act of Edward's was more popular with the people and clergy than the driving out of the Jews. They might take with them only such property as they could carry; all else went to the king. There must have been terrible scenes when sixteen thousand Jews were driven from their homes. Some of the ships which carried them were scuttled, so that the ship-loads of Jews should be drowned. One ship's master is said to have landed a company of Jews on a sand bar, and to have told them that they might call on a new Moses to save them from the sea. For hundreds of years, no Jew was allowed to live in England.

3. THE CONQUESTS OF EDWARD I

The conquest of Wales, 1284.—So masterful a man as Edward was likely to have trouble with his neighbours. In Wales lived the descendants of the ancient Britons, who had been driven back by the English (p. 19). Through long centuries, they had kept a kind of independence, but had still been obliged to bend the knee to England. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Harold, soon himself to be king, had forced the ruler of Wales to acknowledge that he was the vassal of the king of England. This vassalage the Welsh hated

as, in earlier times, they had hated the English mastery of Britain, and every king since Edward the Confessor had found it hard to make good his overlordship. The Welsh recalled the days when they had held all England, and were resolved never to yield to the invading Teuton. Civil war, under Henry III, had made the Welsh think that England was weak and the day of deliverance near. So, when Edward demanded that Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, should take the oath of vassalage, he was met by an unbending refusal.

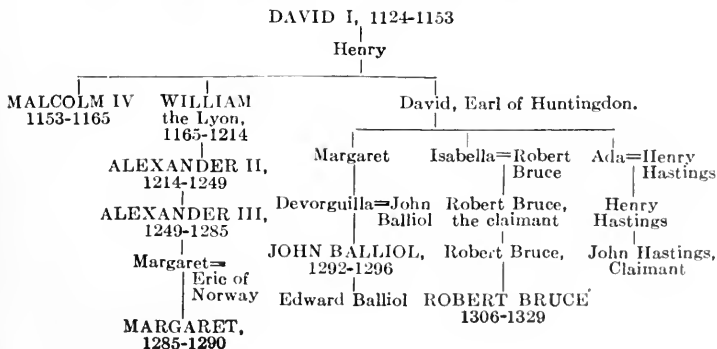
Edward waited for a time, but at last he took decisive action and invaded Wales. Llewellyn fell in battle. His brother David was, however, captured. To Edward treason was the most terrible of crimes, and David was punished as a traitor to his lawful king. He was hanged until nearly dead; and then cut down. After further unspeakable tortures had been inflicted upon him he was finally beheaded. It was further provided that his head should be exposed in some public place, and that the four quarters of his body should be sent to as many different towns of the kingdom, as a terrible warning to others. It was Edward who began these awful tortures of traitors, and other rulers continued them. He was pitiless to a proud but backward people fighting for national rights. In 1284, he annexed Wales to England, and, though it was long before the English mastered the whole country, its ancient liberty was lost for ever. He divided Wales into shires, after the English model. It happened that his son Edward was born in Wales, and he granted him the title of Prince of Wales, borne by the dead Llewellyn. Since that time this rank has usually been conferred upon the heir to the English crown.

The failure of the direct line in Scotland.—In the latter half of his reign, Edward was involved in strife with Scotland destined in the end to bring deep humiliation upon England. Earlier English kings had been able, at times, to force the Scottish kings to acknowledge them as overlords. William the Conqueror had obliged Malcolm Canmore to do this (p. 56). A later king of Scots, William the Lyon,

sided with the barons against Henry II and was captured and carried prisoner to Normandy, where Henry made him take a solemn oath of vassalage to himself (p. 79). Then Richard I, hard pressed for money, sold back to William the Lion the rights his father had gained (p. 83). This made Scotland again wholly free of England, and among her people the resolve to remain so became a national passion. To such a king as Edward I, however, a plan to unite the whole island under one rule was attractive, and fortune seemed to favour his design. In 1286, the last descendant of William the Lion was a little princess, Margaret, a sickly child, three years old, daughter of Eric, king of Norway. If she married Edward's son a peaceful union of the two crowns would follow. The project found favour in Scotland, but only after Edward had pledged himself that Scotland should remain free and independent. Edward sent to Norway a stately ship to bring home the infant bride, but the rough North Sea balked a wise plan; the poor child died of sea-sickness on the voyage.

Balliol, king of Scotland, 1292.—Stormy times followed in Scotland. Many persons aspired to the throne, but only three of them had any real claim* and every one of these three, Balliol, Bruce, and Hastings, held an English baronage. What more natural than that, to prevent civil war, the

*THE CLAIMANTS TO THE SCOTTISH THRONE



claimants should agree to refer the dispute to Edward. Yet it was a dangerous thing to do, for Edward was willing to act as arbiter only if given the legal right, as supreme lord, to supervise Scottish affairs. The Scottish nobles, with civil war as the alternative, had to make this hard concession, which was bitterly resented by the Scottish people. Edward did the work of inquiry with great care. For more than a year, a special court, composed largely of Scots, examined the evidence, and the decision was that the throne should go to Balliol. In 1292 he was crowned, and did homage to Edward as his overlord.

Edward annexes Scotland, 1296.—For a time there was peace. The Scots found, however, that Edward meant to have a real voice in their affairs. He was relentless in insisting that Balliol should render to him all the services that a vassal king owed to his lord. He encouraged appeals from Scotland to his courts in London. He sent English priests into Scottish parishes. Soon the pride of the Scots was aroused, and at last, in 1296, Balliol defiantly declared that he was no longer Edward's vassal. Edward's wrath blazed forth at what he chose to regard as treason. He took Berwick by storm and butchered eight thousand of its defenders, burning some of them alive. Town after town, fearing the awful fate of Berwick, yielded to Edward, and in three months Balliol was his prisoner and Scotland at his feet. He declared that Balliol had forfeited the crown, that it reverted to him as overlord, and that he himself was lawful king of Scotland. For a Scot now to lift a hand against him was to incur the penalties of treason.

Second conquest of Scotland, 1298.—Edward's rapid success had cowed the Scottish nobles, but a Scottish knight, Sir William Wallace, dared to oppose him. In 1297 he attacked the English boldly. Wallace was a brave leader, but he had not the skill to cope with the greatest soldier of the age. In 1298 the white-haired old king met him in battle. Edward had taught the English to use the long-bow which, drawn by a strong arm, sent an arrow with terrific force.

These arrows, poured into Wallace's lines at Falkirk, wrought deadly havoc, and caused the loss of twenty thousand Scots. A second time Edward had conquered Scotland. Wallace fled, but long afterwards was taken and executed for treason to a king whom he had never acknowledged. In 1305, Edward annexed Scotland to England as he had annexed Wales.

Third conquest of Scotland, 1306-7.—Edward was now near his end, and his last days were gloomy. His wife, Eleanor, had died in 1290; he mourned her deeply and was embittered by her loss. About the same time others of his close friends and helpers also died. Just when the trouble in Scotland was acute, war broke out with France. As lord of Aquitaine, Edward was the vassal of Philip IV of France. But the English and the French were rarely at peace. They fought when they met on the sea, or anywhere else. At length, after some outrage by the English, Philip summoned Edward to Paris, as France's vassal, to stand his trial. We can imagine the wrath of Edward at such a summons. Philip made an alliance with the Scots, that alliance to check England which was to last for three hundred years. To pay the cost of the war with France Edward laid on his people taxes so heavy that he drove them almost into revolt. He had to face a cloud of difficulties, and the crowning one came, when the Scots found a great national leader in Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of 1291.

In open defiance of Edward, Bruce was crowned in 1306. Edward was now furious. Again his armies overran Scotland. Bruce fled, and those of his friends who fell into Edward's hands perished as traitors. But Edward's days were numbered, and he died in 1307, while leading his army to complete the third conquest of Scotland.



ELEANOR, WIFE OF
EDWARD I (D. 1290)

From her tomb.

So relentless was he that he would have pursued his enemy even after death, for he ordered that his body should be carried at the head of the English host, until Scotland should be conquered.

4. THE FALL OF EDWARD II

Edward II, 1307-1327—The change from such a strong ruler as Edward I to his son, the foolish and indolent Edward II, was to prove disastrous to England. From the outset Edward II treated his realm as his private property, to be ruled as he might see fit. He ignored the rights both of the common people and of the great nobles, and chose as his chief adviser Piers, or Peter, Gaveston, a knight from his continental realm of Aquitaine. This man of humble rank he put high in authority over the greatest in the land. "Brother Peter," as Edward fondly called him, became the real ruler of England, the favourite of a weak master. Though Edward II had the tall, strong frame of his father, he lacked his courage, and proved a craven in battle. He delighted in the pomp of kingship, in its extravagant and frivolous amusements. He was fond of sports, of horses and dogs, and of the society of low-born people. Much of the folly of his life was due to habitual and excessive drinking. He was skilful at smith's work, at digging a trench, or thatching a roof, but was content to be known as the "illiterate king," and took his coronation oath in the French provided for the unlearned, not in the original Latin. The oath itself bears evidence of the changed spirit of England, for it admits the new rights of the Commons.

The Rule of the "Lords Ordainers."—Edward's reign was disastrous from the beginning. He had no force of character to carry out the stern resolve of his father to make Scotland a vassal state, and did not heed the wish of Edward I that his bones might be carried at the head of the English host until Bruce was crushed. Instead, Edward II buried his father at Westminster, and left

the campaign in such weak hands that ere long Bruce was master of Scotland. In England, too, things went from bad to worse. Edward's great barons, men who had, in some cases, royal blood in their veins, resented the arrogance of the upstart Gaveston. Sure of the king's support, the favourite jeered at them, and he was man enough to unhorse their best riders, when they met him in tilt and tournament. At last the barons resolved to take power out of the hands of Edward. Their leader was a magnate with vast estates and of royal lineage, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. He aspired to be a Simon de Montfort, but was only a weak and debased imitation of that great man. In 1310, the barons obliged Edward to consent that twenty-one "Lords Ordainers" should control the state, much as did those named by Montfort's "Provisions of Oxford" (p. 99). They forced Gaveston to leave England. When he came back in 1312, in violation of the terms to which Edward had agreed, some of the barons made a grim resolve to end the trouble for ever. They seized Gaveston and beheaded him without trial, a deed of blood soon to be followed by many others of like character. Edward's grief at the loss of his favourite was real and deep, but for the time he was forced to submit to the rule of Thomas of Lancaster, who was able to dictate his own terms.

The battle of Bannockburn, 1314.—Perhaps to make some diversion in his own favour, Edward now took up eagerly the war with Scotland, and led a great army into that country. Bruce, the brave, wary, experienced king of the Scots, had pressed the English so hard that the stronghold of Stirling was the only place which they still held in Scotland. Even Stirling was in danger, for Bruce was besieging it closely. The aim of the English was to break through Bruce's force and relieve Stirling, a difficult thing to attempt against so skilful a leader. Edward collected his large force at Berwick, and then set out in such furious haste to meet the foe that he gave his army little time for food or sleep.

Bruce lay near Stirling, with the little stream known as Bannockburn on his front. His force was smaller than that of the English, but it was a real army under a great



ROBERT BRUCE (1274-1329)

leader, while the English were little more than a badly led mob. Before his tired and dispirited men had had time to rest, Edward gave the order to attack, and the issue was certain from the first. A part of the English as they advanced fell into pits dug in front of the Scottish lines, and never recovered from the confusion thus caused. In spite of this, some of the English fought well but many fled without striking a blow. Edward himself rode off in a panic of fear and

did not draw rein until he was far away at Dunbar. The slaughter of the English was fearful; it was the most crushing defeat that an English army had met with since Hastings. Time was to show that Bannockburn really settled the question whether Scotland should be an independent kingdom. Before long Bruce became the undisputed king of Scotland. It was well that England should fail. The Scots had the right to be free, and a conquered and enslaved Scotland would have retarded the growth of liberty in England too. But it was not well that England should fail through the rashness and cowardice of a foolish king.

The fall of Edward, 1327.—Bannockburn left Edward helpless in England against Thomas of Lancaster, who proved a hard master to the weak king. In time it came about that an English noble, Hugh Despenser, and his son of the same name, were able, with Edward's support, to overthrow Lancaster, who, of royal lineage though he was, perished on the block in 1322. The Lords Ordainers were overthrown, and again Edward did everything through favourites. The Despensers secured great grants of land. In their prosperity they were so foolish as to treat with

contempt Edward's wife, Isabella, daughter of Philip le Bel, king of France. To escape their insolence, she made a plea of business in France and went there with her son Edward. For a time, she refused to come back, and, in the end, when she did return, it was with an army to overthrow her husband. Then it was seen that Edward's folly had turned not only her but all England against him. The Despensers were quickly taken and executed, and Edward fell a prisoner into his wife's hands. In 1327, Parliament declared him deposed, and made his young son king, and a few months later, the unhappy Edward was murdered. The twenty wretched years of his reign are a prolonged nightmare in the history of the English people. Never before had faction raged with such violence; never before had the penalty of failure in the political strife been speedy death on the scaffold.

TOPICS

I. Why and how Simon de Montfort took power out of Henry's hands. What claim to greatness has Simon?

II. Why is Edward I called "the English Justinian"? Why was the summoning of the Commons to Parliament inevitable?

III. What causes lay at the basis of Welsh national ambitions? Explain the statement that "Edward's methods made the triumph of Bruce certain."

IV. Why England could not conquer Scotland. Why Edward II failed as king.

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CHAPTER VI

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1. THE OPENING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

The overthrow of Mortimer, 1330.—The young Edward III was not yet fifteen years old, and the real rulers were Isabella and Mortimer, a great Welsh noble, who had shared her exile. For three years they ruled in Edward's name, keeping from him all real power. It was natural that a proud young king should resent the bondage in which he was kept, and it ended, in 1330, in a sudden and swift tragedy. By a secret plot Edward caused Mortimer to be seized while in bed at Nottingham Castle, and, after a few days, to be executed, as a common criminal. Isabella, disgraced by her connection with him, lived in retirement for the rest of her life.



EDWARD III

Edward III, 1327-1377.—Edward III, who thus reached supreme power in England, did not prove a good king. His stately presence, grace, and dignity, his love of pomp, his energy and warrior spirit, fit him to be the hero of the romantic pages of Froissart, a writer of the time. But he had little sense of duty, and spent upon selfish pleasure vast sums that Edward I would certainly have used to lighten the nation's burdens. He was licentious and cruel, and ready lightly to break his word, or even, king though he was, to take a bribe. In war, though he gained victories, he was rash and trusted foolishly to chance. His wife,

Philippa, was a good woman, whose influence proved salutary. After her death, in 1369, Edward fell into the hands of vicious self-seekers, and there were scandalous doings at his court.

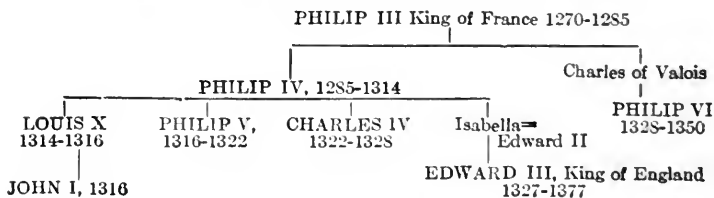
Defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill, 1333.—Far-reaching schemes to improve the condition of England did not inspire Edward as they had inspired his grandfather, Edward I. Yet, like that great king, Edward, by plans of foreign conquest, did much to make the English self-confident and to strengthen the national spirit. They still felt the sting of their defeat by the Scots, and bitterly resented the Treaty of Northampton, made in 1328, while Mortimer still possessed power. It recognized the complete independence of Scotland. This treaty was Bruce's last triumph for he died in 1329. Then the rights of his son, David, over Scotland were disputed by a Balliol, as a Bruce and a Balliol had disputed for Scotland long before. England supported Balliol, and Bannockburn seemed to have been avenged, when, in 1333, at Halidon Hill, English archers struck down the advancing host of Scots, and inflicted on them crushing defeat. Edward soon held all Scotland south of the Forth. His success encouraged the English still to cherish the belief that they could conquer Scotland. Clearly enough, however, this belief was unfounded. The English, it is true, defeated the Scots in battle, but such defeat did not crush them. They could always take refuge in the fastnesses of their own land, or, with a little oatmeal for food, and hardy ponies for mounts, they could outmarch at pleasure the cumbered English host. Moreover, Scotland had outside help. She was allied with France, and Edward soon found that final victory in Scotland was impossible without first overthrowing the power of France.

The Hundred Years' War, 1338.—Occasions of hostility with France were never difficult to find. As ruler of Aquitaine, Edward was already lord of fertile provinces in southern France, provinces which the king of France needed to round out his own territory, just as, for the same reason, Edward desired Scotland. In time Edward resolved that

he would have not only Aquitaine, but all France, under his sway, and he had a plausible claim to support this design. He declared that he was himself the lawful king of France, for he was grandson of the late king, Philip IV, while the ruling king, Philip VI, was only his nephew.* Under the English law of inheritance, Edward's title, derived from his mother, was good enough. But France would not listen to the claim, not merely because only males could, under her law, transmit the right to reign, but also because she would not have a king who was a foreigner and an Englishman. Edward pressed his rights, assumed, in the end, the title of king of France, and began, in 1338, that long Hundred Years' War which was to bring untold misery to both nations.

The English long-bow.—Hitherto, England had played no part on continental battlefields. Yet the Englishman now looked with scorn upon the Frenchman, and he had some reason for this feeling. The English had become the expert masters of that most formidable weapon, the long-bow. Edward I had made it the great national weapon and his people developed amazing strength and skill in its use. The long-bowmen shot a steel-pointed arrow which could penetrate thick planks of oak, and even plate armour; it is on record that an arrow pierced the mail shirt, the mail breeches, the thigh, and the wooden saddle of a rider, and sank deep into his horse's flank. To kill a horse with such a shaft was not difficult. The volley of the long-bow was more rapid than that of the musket of a later time; it was deadly at a range of two hundred yards or more, and there

*CLAIM OF EDWARD III TO THRONE OF FRANCE



was no smoke to obscure the archer's aim. With this weapon in his hand the English archer was now a formidable



ARCHER WITH LONG-BOW AND SHEAF OF ARROWS



CROSS-BOWMAN
WITH HIS SHIELD ON HIS BACK
The cross-bow proved much less effective than the long-bow.

fighter. He was often mounted and then was a dangerous rival of the mounted knight. Yet still, in France, the mounted knight in armour was thought to be unconquerable.

Battle of Sluys, 1340.—The French were soon to have rude awakenings. England was strong, not only in her peasantry, armed with the long-bow, but in her seamen, and Edward's first great victory was on the sea. In 1340, he attacked and almost destroyed the French fleet in the Flemish harbour of Sluys. In the days before artillery, such fighting involved a hand-to-hand struggle and usually no quarter was given; it is



ARCHERS IN CHAIN-MAIL
ABOUT 1330

said that of the conquered, twenty-five thousand, an incredible number, perished. It is the first great victory in the annals of the English navy, and Edward's people were soon, in their pride of success, calling him "King of the Seas," an early indication of England's claim to naval supremacy.

Battle of Crécy, 1346.—On land the war was long indecisive. Then came a success which showed that England, thought by continental nations to be remote and weak, must be reckoned with as a great military power. In 1346, Edward had advanced to the very gates of Paris. He pillaged as he went, and the sky was lurid with the flames of burning villages. Yet his army was soon worn out and he was obliged to retreat northwards. At Crécy, he turned to face his foes. The English chose their position on rising



MOUNTED KNIGHTS, ABOUT 1360

ground, and had time to rest before the fight. Their army was in three divisions. In command of that likely to bear the brunt of the fighting, Edward put his son Edward, a lad of sixteen, afterwards known, from the colour of his armour, as the Black Prince.

It was important that the lad should show himself a true knight, able to take his share in the hardest contests.

The French, who had pursued the English in their retreat to Crécy, were so certain of victory that their leaders engaged in disputes about the expected spoils. It was late when they reached the foot of the hill at Crécy, and they were dazzled by the afternoon sun which shone in their faces. Yet, confident of success, they decided to attack at once. On the two flanks of the English host on the hill stood the brawny archers from the English villages, masters of their terrible weapon, the long-bow. To reach the foe

the French must charge up the hill. Though the declining sun was now bright, there had just been a heavy shower. During the storm the experienced English archers had kept their bow-strings dry; those on the French side, however, foreign men of Genoa with cross-bows, for some reason, had been unable to do so, and now, when put in the van of the French host to clear the way for the mounted knights, they found their weapons useless. When they shrank back before the English volley, they were trampled down by the advancing knights who charged up the hill. The English archers shot into the confused mass. They aimed especially at the horses, and soon the hillside was covered with struggling animals. Those of the French who managed to advance farther were struck down mercilessly by English arrows. A few reached the English lines, only to be destroyed by the knights who fought there on foot. Probably less than one hundred fell on the side of the victors; of the vanquished about fifteen hundred lords and knights perished, and we shall never know how many thousands more of plebeian blood.

Fall of Calais and defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross, 1346.—Crécy taught lessons that France was slow to learn. Armed with the long-bow, the English villager, despite his low rank, had been found more formidable in battle than the mounted knight. To many it now seemed as if Edward III's dreams of conquest might be realized. Two months after Crécy, the English defeated King David II of Scotland, son of Robert Bruce, at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and made him prisoner. Both Scotland and France had fallen low before Edward. For many years David Bruce remained Edward's prisoner, and Edward I seemed indeed to be avenged when David, educated in English ways, lent himself to English plans to master Scotland, plans that failed owing to the unconquerable resolve of the Scots to remain free. In France Edward met with greater success. He took Calais, expelled all the inhabitants who refused to recognize him as king, offered free houses to his subjects settling there, and gave to the town trading privileges that

soon made it the centre of English commerce with continental Europe. England had made a real beginning of the conquest of France, and her flag continued to wave over Calais for more than two hundred years.

The Black Death, 1348.—In the moment of Edward's triumph, a terrible enemy prostrated all nations alike. The Black Death is supposed to have been brought from eastern seas by Genoese sailors. Its mark was a dark eruption upon the body, and few whom it attacked ever recovered. Persons of all classes and ages, but especially those in the prime of life, fell before this awful plague. It is estimated that, during the fourteen months of its terrible ravages, London shrank to half its numbers. Villages, manors, and monasteries were alike desolated. On one manor, the court was summoned for a certain day, but



THE CASTLE DEFENCE BEFORE
ARTILLERY

The bow and the cross-bow

before the day came round, eleven out of the sixteen persons concerned in the proceedings, had perished. In some of the monasteries the inmates perished to a man, and a hundred years later these houses had not recovered their former numbers. So few labourers were left to harvest the crops that they rotted in the fields. Perhaps half the total population died.

Battle of Poitiers, 1356.—Stricken though all the nations were by the Black Death, they still warred on each other. After Crécy Edward thought that both Scotland

and France were almost within his grasp. In truth, however, each victory raised up new obstacles, for it made Scots and Frenchmen see the real danger, and fight only the more strenuously to resist their assailant. In 1356, ten years after the victory at Crécy in the north, the Black Prince gained a crushing victory in the south, at

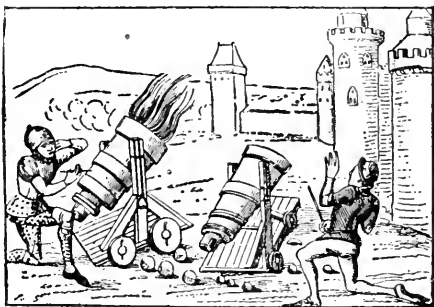
Poitiers. It was a long, hard fight, but the French had not yet learned how to meet the English, and their king, John, was defeated and taken prisoner. The English were now free to plunder France, and they gathered and sent home a vast booty.

We hear not only of gold and silver, but of clothes, furs, even feather-beds, being sent to England. Plundering bands stripped parts of France bare. Thousands of the peasants perished. Whole districts lay desolate, the houses in ruins,

the land unpeopled, except by a few half-starving wretches who still lingered about their former homes. Such results had Edward brought on France by his resolve to be her king. The effect on England was no better, for there the struggle aroused a greedy lust for conquest and plunder.

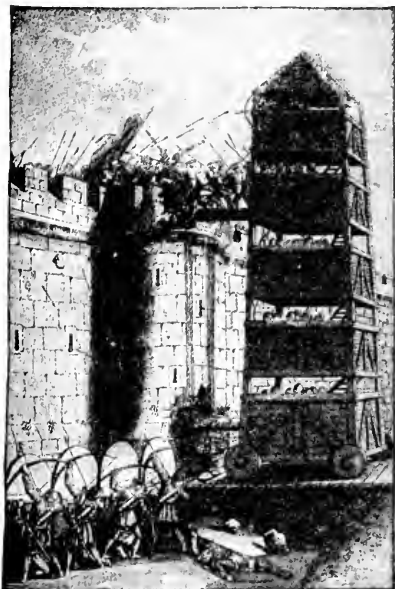
The first use of cannon.—After Poitiers, the French, inferior in the open field, shut themselves up within walled towns, and left the enemy to harry their country. Against the walls of town and castle the English soon began to use cannon, which now first appeared in warfare. Our generation, strong for destruction, is amused at these feeble engines of war. Stones were often used as cannon-balls, and only about three shots could be fired in an hour. Yet, with the appearance of cannon, the glory of the mediæval castle declined. As yet its most formidable dangers had been from movable towers pushed up close to the wall, or from cumbrous battering-rams used against the gates, but now artillery loosened the castle's masonry and sometimes brought down its defences.

The Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.—The French peasantry, crushed between the upper and the nether millstone of the



CANNON, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

pruandering English and their own baronage, who treated them brutally, broke out, in 1358, into a savage revolt called the Jacquerie, from Jacques, the nickname of the



MOVABLE "BREACHING TOWER"

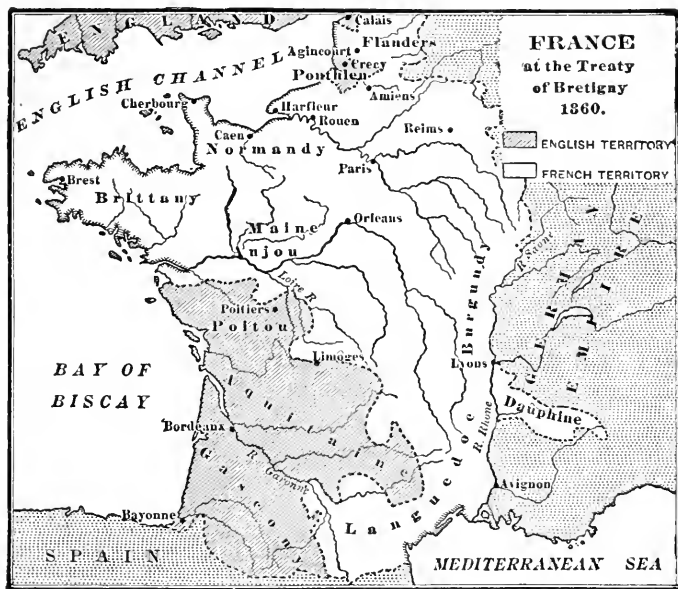
French peasant. This only added to the awful miseries which afflicted France, for the English joined in the work of crushing the revolt, and ended it by ruthless massacre. Sheer exhaustion now led to a peace, and, in 1360, was signed the Treaty of Bretigny. By it Edward secured not, indeed, all he had aimed at, but yet a great deal. Formerly he had ruled Aquitaine as vassal of the French king; now he was to hold it as an independent ruler, owning no allegiance to France. Edward was also to keep Calais and the territory about it,

and King John, his prisoner, was to pay the enormous ransom of £750,000. All this France was to lose, but Edward, in turn, gave up his claim to the French crown. Thus, although France was now partitioned between him and its king, Edward had not made good his claim to be the lawful heir to the French throne.

2. THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF EDWARD III

The English colony in Ireland.—In Ireland Edward had a problem not unlike that which he faced in France. Two hundred years earlier, Henry II had made himself lord of

Ireland (p. 77). Yet the English had never mastered the country. In the intervening time, no reigning king had set foot in Ireland. There was thus no central authority to insist on unity, and the Irish remained divided into tribes, each with its own laws and habits. The English colony at Dublin followed English customs. As Parliament



grew in England, it grew too in this bit of Ireland, which developed its House of Commons and its House of Lords. The position of the colony was precarious. By 1320 the English settlers had built, to guard the land which they occupied, a fortification known as the Pale. Within the Pale, English civilization prevailed; without the Pale, the customs of the native Irish. The Pale, however, did not stop the intermingling of the races, for the free life of the Irish tribes outside the Pale attracted many of the English.

Edward's son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had an interest in Ireland, for he had been created Earl of Ulster and had

married the daughter of a previous Earl of Ulster. In 1361, Lionel was sent to Ireland as the king's lieutenant. Just at this time the English had signed a peace with France on the basis of making sure of Aquitaine, rather than of trying to hold the whole kingdom of France. In Ireland they adopted the similar policy of making the English colony strong and of separating it from that part of Ireland without the Pale. To keep its people within the Pale, the Parliament of the English colony passed, in 1367, the Statute of Kilkenny, forbidding, under the penalty of death, the use of the Irish language within the Pale, marriage between English and Irish, and the adoption by the English of even the Irish mode of dress. All this shows the fear of the English element that it might be absorbed by the Irish. From the first the law was probably a dead-letter. The races intermingled, and the English continued the attempt to dominate the people outside the Pale.

Renewed war with France.—In Aquitaine, as in Ireland, the native race resented alien rule. When Edward made the Black Prince Duke of Aquitaine, it was soon clear that its people hated the English. "We will obey the English with our lips," those of Rochelle said, "but we shall never give them our hearts." From the first, the Black Prince had a sullen, discontented populace to rule. They carried to Paris complaints that were often well-founded, for the prince, ill and in debt, allowed unlawful pillage to go on. At last, in 1369, Charles V of France had the hardihood to declare that the Duke of Aquitaine was still his vassal, and to summon him to Paris to answer charges against him.

The decline of the English power.—This was to claim again what France had given up in the Treaty of Bretigny. In a rage, the Black Prince told Charles that he should indeed go to Paris, but at the head of sixty thousand men. Edward III resumed the title of king of France. When war broke out, the people of Aquitaine revolted against the Black Prince, and the fury of both sides was more savage than ever. In 1370, when the Black Prince took one of the rebellious towns, Limoges, by storm, he ordered every

one of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be destroyed. As he watched the slaughter, shrieking women and children rushed to kneel before him crying, "Mercy, mercy!" but his heart knew no pity for these helpless common people, and he allowed three thousand to be killed. It was quite in accord with the notions of chivalry (p. 64) that he spared three men of knightly rank who fought hard for their lives. The war did not go well with the English. At last the Black Prince went home, sick and dying, and, in 1375 a truce was made, which left only five or six towns in English hands.

English displaces French in the law courts.—Fruitless enough were the wars of Edward III. Their cruel and bloody character, and the evils which they brought to the common people, are not to be concealed by the waving plumes and banners of the military array or by the florid courtesy of the age of chivalry. Yet their history, it has been truly said, is the real history of the people. Crécy and Poitiers won nothing permanent for the English crown, but they gave the English nation a self-confidence which it had never felt before. A people, thought to be rude and uncouth, had suddenly come to the front and struck down the proudest state in Europe. The English, who had been for centuries the pupils of France in language and manners, now turned from their former teachers. In Parliament and in the courts of law the French tongue was still used, but in 1362 this evidence of the power of France over England in earlier times, came to an end; Parliament was then opened with a speech in English, and English became the language of the law courts. Society, however, could not change its speech so quickly, and, for a long time, the upper classes continued to use French.

Edward and the church.—The struggle with France helped to strain England's relations with the church. The English looked with suspicion on any one friendly to their enemy. It so happened that, in 1305, a Frenchman had been elected Pope, and for the next seventy years he and his successors lived at Avignon, within what is now French territory, and

in close relations with the king of France. It was natural that the English should distrust a Pope who was in hearty sympathy with French designs. The Popes, moreover, still made heavy claims on England. They taxed the English clergy, and a papal collector lived in London in great state to receive the revenues of his master. The anger and jealousy of the English showed itself in laws restricting the powers of the church. The Pope had been in the habit of "providing" that certain benefices, when they became vacant, should go to his nominees. In 1351 the Statute of Provisors forbade this practice. Englishmen had long carried appeals to Rome, but in 1353 the Statute of *Præmunire*, a stern measure, declared that any one who appealed to a foreign court was to forfeit all his goods, and might be kept in prison at the king's pleasure. Ever since the time of John, the Pope had claimed annual tribute from England as a vassal state. This Edward III had refused to pay as early as 1333, and in 1366 Parliament passed an Act which repudiated the Pope's claim.

Increased strength of the Commons.—Parliament was busy in Edward's reign. Some of the great barons still professed to despise as "base and ignoble" the knights who sat in the Commons. "I will so terrify them that neither they nor theirs shall dare again to arouse my anger," cried John of Gaunt, the king's son, in wrath, when the Commons refused grants of money that the great men in the House of Lords had approved. But the Commons were not to be frightened. They owed some of their courage, perhaps, to the support of the Black Prince, now sinking slowly to the grave, but still able to oppose the selfish plans of his brother, John of Gaunt. In the Good Parliament of 1376, so called for the quality of its work, the Commons took the strong stand of refusing to vote any revenue until they were told how moneys already granted had been spent. They went farther; they accused two officials before the House of Lords of robbing the public treasury. One of these persons, Lord Latimer, was himself a peer. It is the first time in English history that we find

an instance of impeachment, which consists in charges made before the Lords by the Commons against men in public positions. In taking this step the Commons had travelled far since the days of Edward I when they sat in the Model Parliament, awed, humble and timid, in the presence of the great barons, and hardly venturing as yet to take more than a passive part in the councils of the state.

The death of Edward III, 1377.—

Affairs were going badly in England in the latter days of Edward III. The king was imbecile from softening of the brain and was surrounded by base people, chief among them a nurse, Alice Perrers. She sold her influence over him for money, and even sat with judges on the bench, to ensure verdicts that she had been paid to bring about. The Good Parliament drove Alice Perrers from court, but she soon came back to rule the weak, old king until the end, and to cause much public scandal by taking an open share in the government. But the close of the reign was near. The Black Prince died in 1376, and in 1377 Edward III followed him to the grave. As Edward breathed his last, Alice Perrers stripped the rings from his fingers and left him. Only a poor priest remained to whisper some spiritual comfort to the warrior king, the valour of whose deeds had startled Europe.



EDWARD, THE BLACK
PRINCE, 1330-1376
From his tomb

3. THE REVOLT OF THE PEASANTS

Richard II, 1377-1399.—It had been a dark day for England when the Black Prince died, leaving a mere child as heir to the crown. The nation was beginning to realize that its

designs on France had failed. Now the most serious problem in England was, not this foreign war, but the growing discontent among the peasants. To meet such a crisis, there sat on the throne a boy of eleven, Richard II. He



RICHARD II

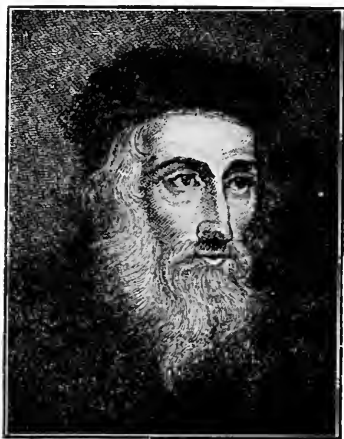
was handsome and clever, but neither he nor his advisers had the wisdom which the times demanded. Hard, selfish men, like his uncle, John of Gaunt, were seeking not the good of England but their own advantage, and it was the task of a strong man to hold such elements in check. The little king was affectionate, brave, and fond of books; but he had a passionate nature and was ill-taught. A king from childhood, he was treated by some as if he were a god, and

he learned to talk wildly about the realm as his personal property, and of being able to make laws and levy taxes as he liked. A dark fate was to make his reign tragic.

John Wycliffe.—A new era was dawning in England. Among many classes there was discontent, and we find it especially in the church, where it centred in the person and teaching of John Wycliffe. This bold and able man had become, in 1361, the master of Balliol College at Oxford, and was regarded in that seat of learning as the greatest philosopher and theologian of his age. Yet he did not spend all his energies in the studies of the scholar; he took an active part in the life of his time and came into contact with John of Gaunt and other political leaders. He had a keen scent for abuses, and, though himself a priest, he criticized the church so violently that, in 1377, the year in which Edward III died, he was charged with heresy. After this Wycliffe became steadily more aggressive. It so happened that, in 1378, there was a schism in the church, and rival Popes, one at Avignon, the other at Rome

denounced each other in vehement terms. This aroused Wycliffe's anger, and his attacks grew so fierce that he was forbidden, in 1381, to teach his doctrines in the university. Soon after, he retired to the parish of Lutterworth, of which he was rector, and there continued his work until his death.

Wycliffe's Bible.—Wycliffe's attack on the church was many-sided. He declared that by misuse it had forfeited the right to its wealth and should be stripped of its possessions, a view which aroused against him not only the church, but many who felt that the rights of property were at stake. The monks and friars, who ought to be teachers of the people, had become, he said, corrupt and greedy. To replace them, he organized bands of "poor priests," who went up and down the land preaching in the villages to the poor and needy as the friars had done in the days of Francis of Assisi (p. 95). Wycliffe



JOHN WYCLIFFE (1324?-1384)

wrote for their use sermons remarkable for outspoken and passionate denunciation of the evils of the time. The most important result of Wycliffe's work is the translation of the Bible into English in order that the people might have its sacred teaching in their own tongue. He seems to have translated the Gospels, and perhaps the whole of the New Testament; others helped with the Old Testament. It is not likely that many of the peasants could read, but more learned men were ready to unfold to them the grounds which Wycliffe found in the Bible for his attack on the church and its property. Discontent was in the air. Bishops might clap Wycliffe's preachers into jail, but their teaching spread. Wycliffe himself was too strong to be molested,

and he went on with his work, attacking even the church's doctrine in regard to the mass itself. When his death occurred in 1384, his disciples, who came to be known as Lollards, were already numerous. Before they were finally put down they caused much trouble to the church authorities.

Peasant discontent.—The peasants too were discontented; in that fact lay deep meaning. In English history, hitherto, we have heard little of their needs. We have seen how Henry II checked the barons (p. 78), and how the barons in turn checked Henry's son John (p. 87). All this was a struggle among the great men in the nation. Later, Simon de Montfort in 1265, and Edward I in 1295, called the smaller landowners and the leading traders to sit in Parliament (pp. 100, 106). But this broadening of political life touched only the well-to-do classes, for even a small



PEASANT WOMEN ABOUT 1340

landowner seemed a rich man in his own village. The working classes were still without any voice in the nation's affairs. Craftsmen, who hammered out the armour worn by the mail-clad warrior, and finished the tempered steel of his sword and spear, who built the churches, cast the church bells, and made the wonderful stained glass of the age, were mute and helpless under the classes above them. So, of course, was the peasant, who ploughed the fields and made the roads. Now, however, this class learned to make its grievances known, and for the first time in English history we find toilers with their hands taking strong measures to advance their own interests.

The peasant's place on the manor.—The outbreak of revolt was due to the discontent of those who tilled the soil. Before the rise of manufactures, the great mass of the

English people lived in the country, engaged in agriculture, and agriculture centred in the manor (p. 38). What we call "the home farm" of the manor, the *demesne*, was retained by the lord himself; the rest of its five or six thousand acres was farmed by the tenants of the manor on their own account. Each villein usually cultivated for himself about thirty acres. The prevailing method of farming was what is known as the three-field system. The arable land was divided into three great open fields. One of these fields would be ploughed in the autumn, the second would be ploughed in the spring, while the third lay fallow. A manor formed one great farm, and those upon it were knit together by close ties. Freemen and villeins were sometimes found on the same manor. The freeman tilled his land, paid rent, and was free to come and go as he liked. The great mass, however, of those who tilled the soil, were of the villein class, men who dwelt in the *vill* (village) in servitude to their lord. Usually a villein gave his master the labour of about three days in each week; at harvest-time the amount was often increased to four; sometimes, indeed, at this busy season, a villein was obliged to hire other labourers to help him discharge his duty to his lord. He had for himself what he could get from his holding, and, with thrift, might become well-to-do. Yet his condition was servile and his children inherited it. He was tied to the manor, and could not leave it without his lord's consent. At every turn he found reminders that he was not free. If he desired to send his son to school, something then rare, or to give his daughter in marriage, he must pay the lord for the privilege. If he made a bargain, he must get his lord's consent, or the bargain was not binding. When his cattle increased, the



PEASANTS THRESHING ABOUT 1340

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lord was entitled to a share of the increase. The villein must grind his corn at his lord's mill, and pay a fixed price for the milling. At the seasons of Easter and Christmas, he was sometimes obliged to bring eggs and poultry to his master. Changes were, however, creeping in. Many villeins arranged to pay a money rent to the lord of the manor rather than give him this kind of service. Then, since they paid rent like freemen, they began to look upon themselves as free.

The time came, however, when the lord again desired the old service in labour. This was when the Black Death had carried off perhaps half of the people of England. The fields must be tilled as of old, but there were fewer to do it, and these, seeing how much they were needed, had asked for higher wages. Then they had found how helpless was their class. Beginning in 1349, those above them passed successive Statutes of Labourers, providing that the peasants must take the work offered to them, and at the old low rate of pay. The employer who paid anything more was to be fined heavily, while any labourer refusing to obey the law was to be branded on the forehead with the letter "F" (for falsity).

We can imagine the rage of the labourer, his burning hate of those who, themselves living in luxury, tried to keep him down almost to the level of the beasts. It was soon clear that the masters could not enforce the law. They were met by stolid unwillingness, and, rather than see their crops rot in the fields, they had often to give higher wages. But the lord of the manor had still a hold on his villeins, and he now told them that he should no longer take a money rent but that they must pay him in labour. When the villein, long accustomed to pay rent in cash, declared that, rather than render this kind of service, he would give up his holding and leave the manor, the answer was that he was not free to go away for, "once a villein always a villein." It paid now to look up old documents and make sure of the exact service due by each villein. It paid also to search the church's records of marriages and births

to see who had been born villeins and might be held as such. The lords went so far as to hunt out villeins by birth who had left the manor and had perhaps prospered in some neighbouring town, and to force them either to work themselves or to pay others to work in their place.

The grievance of the poll-tax.—A new injustice fanned into open flame the discontent of the peasants. A Parliament, in which, of course, they had no voice, imposed on them in 1380, a heavy tax to raise money for the war with France.



JOHN BALL PREACHING TO ARMED CROWDS

Each township was to pay a shilling for every person within it more than fifteen years of age: in present-day values this meant a tax of fully twenty shillings per head. When the tax was announced, it was expected that the rich men would be obliged to make up the chief part of the amount due from each district, and that the peasant would get off lightly. But that was not at all to the mind of the rich men. Since a shilling was due for every

person, let each person, they said, pay the shilling. The poor protested that, though they owned nothing, they would, on this basis, pay as much as a royal duke, like John of Gaunt, with vast estates. But the hard men, who ruled the state, cared nothing for this inequality, and the peasant was forced to pay. If he had a wife and two or three children liable to the tax, his burden was almost intolerable.

The Peasant Revolt, 1381.—Some peasants, unable to pay, left their villages, and wandered about preaching discontent. The whole country was deeply stirred by the injustice of the tax, and open revolt broke out in May, 1381. It was confined chiefly to the south and east, and spread so rapidly that it must have been skilfully planned. Others than the peasants had grievances, and in some places members of well-known county families were the leaders. The teaching of Wycliffe had helped to arouse discontent among even the clergy, and priests like John Ball, and he who called himself "Jack Straw," proclaimed liberty, equality, and social revolution to ignorant and enraged crowds. John Ball preached to a vast multitude at Blackheath on the lines,

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

To get rid of the ruling classes was now the aim of the peasants. They burned title-deeds when they could, so as to destroy the documents on which the claims of their masters were based. Since lawyers, as a class, had used the law against the peasants, they were beheaded whenever seized. So sudden was the rising that London fell into the hands of the peasants. They destroyed the great palace of John of Gaunt, their arch-oppressor, and burned the law-books stored in the Temple, the headquarters of the lawyers. The peasants drew back from no extreme of bloodshed. When they laid hold of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, his sacred office did not save him, and they struck off his head on Tower Hill. England had never before seen the many-headed mob in control of the capital, and never forgot the dread scenes in its

streets, when those who would not shout with the peasants were butchered without pity.

The demands of the peasants.—The young king, now fourteen years old, showed courage in the crisis. The rebels demanded two chief things:

(1) They should no longer be villeins in bondage; they were to be free, as all other classes were free.

(2) They should no longer be required to give personal service as rent for their land, but should pay a money rent of fourpence an acre.



THE DEATH OF WAT TYLER

While his followers are killing Tyler, Richard is addressing the rebels.

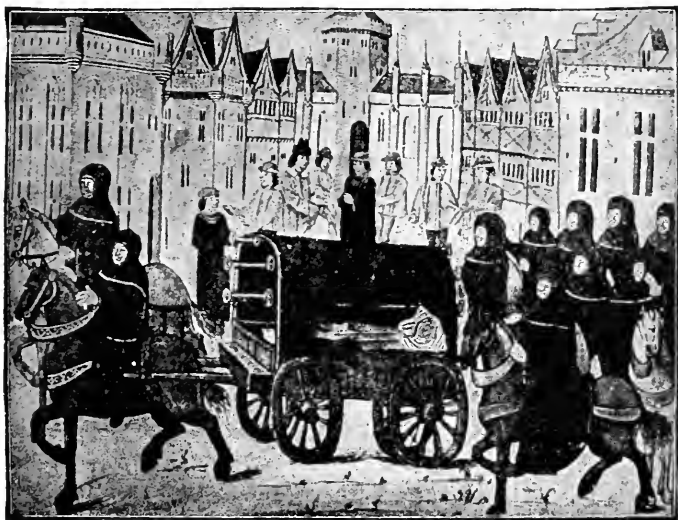
Richard met some of the rebels at Mile End and promised them complete redress and pardon. The most troublesome of the rebel leaders was one Wat Tyler, a violent man, whose head seems to have been turned by his new importance. He met Richard by agreement at Smithfield, and was so insolent that Walworth, mayor of London, struck him down

and killed him. Tyler's armed followers saw the deed and might have avenged him terribly had not Richard ridden up to them crying, "I am your king: I will be your leader." By liberal promises he induced them to go home. When the rebels had dispersed and were no longer strong, the government, in the cruel, faithless spirit of the time, cancelled every promise, and took terrible vengeance. Judges went through the disturbed counties, and hundreds who had taken part in the revolt were hanged.

The revolt leads to the end of serfdom.—The rising seemed to have achieved nothing. Yet it had taught the landowners a lesson. The old oppressions were not renewed, and peasants were allowed to buy their freedom. Within a hundred years, nearly every peasant in England was free, while in France and other countries the old serfdom continued for long centuries. Personal freedom, however, did not give the peasant any share in the government. The gentry and the merchants sent members to the House of Commons; but the peasant had no voice in this assembly, nor did he secure one until five hundred years later, when, in 1884, the franchise was so widened as to give him a vote.

The misrule of Richard II.—In 1389 Richard, now twenty-two years old, declared that he would no longer remain under the control of advisers, but would himself rule. Henceforth, rule he did, and, to the surprise of the nation, his course, for a time, was resolute and courageous. Yet he showed little wisdom. He tried to put down the Lollards, and he checked the church, too, by re-enacting in stronger terms the Statute of Provisors (1390), of Mortmain (1391), and of *Præmunire* (1393) (pp. 105, 128). But bitter personal quarrels rather than questions of public policy fill up the annals of Richard's reign. Years often bring wisdom; to Richard they brought increased folly. His mind seems to have become unhinged. He talked wildly of his own powers and of how he might take his people's money as he liked. Every one who held property began to feel himself insecure.

The fall of Richard II, 1399.—At last, in 1399, came Richard's crowning act of folly. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, died, leaving vast estates. To these, his son Henry, Earl of Derby, who now became Duke of Lancaster, was heir. Two years before, however, this Henry, Richard's cousin, had been banished. Richard now declared that the lands of John of Gaunt were forfeited to himself and that Henry should remain an exile for life. The lawless act aroused the nation against Richard. Henry prepared to lead a force to England in order to assert his rights.



FUNERAL OF RICHARD II

Just at this time Richard went to Ireland. His intentions to protect the English colony in that country were good, but it was an inopportune time to go. While he was absent Henry landed in England. Then it was seen that Richard had no friends. All England welcomed Henry as a protector from a half-mad king. On returning, Richard was taken prisoner. Parliament promptly deposed him in favour of

Henry, and the unhappy young king—he was only thirty-three—was soon afterwards murdered in prison.



GEOFFREY CHAUCER
1340?-1400

The Poetry of Chaucer.—Richard's reign, with its strife of classes, its religious upheaval, its war of factions, forms a momentous era in English national life. Higher impulses were now becoming clearer. While Richard was king, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?-1400) made the hitherto rude English speech the language of a new and splendid literature; his "Canterbury Tales" reveal the modern spirit, keen, humorous, satirical, already at work. The tales are a picture of the society of the time. A company of persons, members of various

classes, ride from London to Canterbury on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket. As they travel, they tell stories to amuse one another. All kinds of men and women, the knight, the priest, the nun, the working miller, meet on friendly terms. Two classes are, however, absent; the baron who would have scorned this humble company, and the peasant tiller of the soil, as yet too rough and ignorant for such society. Chaucer is a delightful story-teller, and is the first writer to use English verse successfully for this purpose. His English, too, is the modern English which we still use. He had seen much of life, had been a page at court, a soldier in France, a traveller in Italy, and his varied knowledge has play in his writings. Above all, he loved nature and we find in him a note so marked in a later school of English poetry, delight in the singing of birds, the running stream, the green turf, and all the magic of the outer world. Chaucer is hardly conscious of any war of classes, but his contemporary William Langland (1330?-1400?), the author of a sad "Vision of Piers Plowman," describes the sombre life of the peasant, whom he regards

as down-trodden and miserable. The poem is a vivid picture of man's struggle in passing from earth to heaven, in plan not unlike Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. We know little of the author, who, though not a priest, held some lowly clerical office, and, living a vagrant life, nursed in his heart a bitter protest against the pride and luxury of the rich. Life to him is a long heartbreaking search for purity and peace. The sad eyes of Langland had looked upon the horrors of the Black Death and on the miseries caused by the war with France. The English peasant could understand the teaching of the poem, which had some share in stirring up the peasant revolt of 1381. Langland the poor priest, and Chaucer the courtier, each wrote in the English that appealed to his class. Wycliffe's Bible and his stirring sermons are also written in English and point to the notable truth—that the nation had at last learned to speak, and to speak with vigour, its own thoughts in its own way.

TOPICS

I. Why the defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill did not involve the conquest of their country. What ensured the victory of the English at Crecy. What effect the use of artillery had on warfare. Why the Treaty of Bretigny did not bring final peace.

II. What effect on English thought and character the war with France had. Why the "Good Parliament" is so called.

III. How did Wycliffe promote peasant unrest? What was the difference between a villein and a freeman? Did the peasant acquire liberty or political power as a result of the revolt? What caused the fall of Richard II?

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE OF LANCASTER AND YORK

1. THE RULE OF THE COMMONS UNDER HENRY IV

Henry IV, 1399-1413.—The English nation was grateful to the man who had saved it from the foolish rule of Richard. At first Henry was very popular and he seemed to deserve it. He had seen much of the world, his manners were pleasant, and his tastes cultivated. But he had many eager enemies. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, had a better hereditary claim to the throne than had Henry (see table p. 161). Across the Channel lay France, long troubled by England, and now provided with a good excuse for troubling England in turn by helping those who assailed Henry. Scotland in the north saw, too, a chance to humble the ancient enemy.

The league against Henry.—A new line had gained the stormy sovereignty of Scotland. When David Bruce died childless in 1370, the male line of the great Robert became extinct. David's sister had married Walter, the Steward of Scotland, and their son, known as Robert II, became the first of that Stuart line which was destined to have so tragic a history. His son, Robert III, refused to recognize Henry as king. Henry's reply was to summon Robert to appear before him and do homage as his vassal, and when his demand was refused, he marched to Edinburgh in 1400 and burned the town. Dangers at home suddenly recalled him, and now the Scots were, of course, eager to retaliate. Even the Welsh descendants of the ancient Britons, helpless since the terrific vigour of Edward I had destroyed their independence, began to dream the old dreams of reviving the glory of their ancestors in the days of King Arthur, and of driving back the hated English.

The law for burning heretics, 1401.—Henry did well to make as many friends as he could, by strong bids for the support of the church and of the common people. The church desired power to crush the heresy begun by Wycliffe; and so new a thing was heresy in England that special laws were necessary to effect this end. Henry was ready to meet the wishes of the church, and, by his influence, Parliament passed, in 1401, a law for the burning of heretics. It gave the bishops great powers; they might put in jail preachers, schoolmasters, writers of books, and all others suspected of heresy; and those found guilty were to be burned. This was the first time such a law was known in England, but frequent use was to be made of it during a century and a half.

The authority of the Commons in finance.—Having thus pleased the church, Henry pleased the people, too, by giving special heed to the wishes of the House of Commons. Though his father, John of Gaunt, had professed lofty scorn of the simple knights and traders who sat there (p. 128), the Commons had enjoyed for sixty years powers co-equal with the Lords (p. 106). In the year 1407 their superior authority in finance was finally conceded, when Henry admitted that it lay with the Commons alone to originate grants of money and thus determine what amounts should be voted for the king's service. The Commons now spoke their mind as they had never spoken it before. They inquired into the expenses of the king's household, and told him that his servants were dishonest and extravagant, that there were too many foreigners about his court, and that his private confessor was not a man to be trusted. We can imagine with what a burst of wrath an earlier ruler, like Edward I, or a later one, like Elizabeth, would have rebuked such interference. But Henry meekly deferred to the wishes of the Commons, and asked if they had any further cause of complaint. In a later age, when the House of Commons was warring on Charles I, its members appealed to the days of Henry IV, to show what their powers had been.

The league against Henry.—In the north, which was still almost a separate state, Henry relied on the support of the powerful Earl of Northumberland and his dashing son, Henry Percy, known in history as Hotspur, the fiery rider. They helped him when he marched against the Scots in 1400; and once more, in 1402, they struck down his foes, the Scots, in a terrible battle at Homildon Hill. But a quarrel came. It seems that Henry could not, or would not, give the Percies the rewards they claimed, and they thought that they could overthrow him. The danger was indeed formidable. A Welsh gentleman, Owen Glendower, aroused in his people the longing for independence, under himself as Prince of Wales; the Scots invaded England, where their former foes, the Percies, joined them; and France attacked Henry's coasts.

Battle of Shrewsbury, 1403.—In such a crisis Henry proved a great soldier. He made a rapid dash to meet his enemies, and fought a battle with them at Shrewsbury in 1403. Henry and his son and heir, the future Henry V, were in the thick of the fight. In the severe struggle the gallant Hotspur fell, and Henry won a great victory. But, even then, the danger was not over. Henry's foes planned to partition England. Glendower was to have the south, the Percies the north. Wild as was the scheme, its promoters were powerful and desperate. Henry was now fighting for his life, and he struck down his foes without mercy. Northumberland was killed. Though Henry could not lay hands on Glendower who, to the end, defied him and remained secure in the Welsh mountains, he was able to reach nearer enemies. Because Scrope, Archbishop of York, a man of saintly character, had some part in the revolt, Henry seized him and sent him to the scaffold without lawful trial. The church, horror-stricken at the deed, cooled in its support of Henry, and when, a little later, he suffered from a wasting disease, men said that God's hand had smitten him for the murder of Scrope. Henry's family life was not happy. There were bitter quarrels between him and his son, Henry. The nation

was relieved when the king died in 1413, a worn-out old man, though only forty-seven years of age.

2. THE RENEWED HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Henry V, 1413-1422.—In Henry V England had a young king, twenty-five years old, strong in character, full of energy, and already a tried warrior. He had fought at Shrewsbury, and had done skilful service in trying to put down Glendower in Wales. Shakespeare describes Henry as dissipated in habits until he became king. Probably he was not free from youthful follies. Yet of them we hear little; we know, on the other hand, that, while still young, he was an earnest statesman. In his courage, industry, love of letters, and purity of life, Henry stands for what was best in the age. But he was in no sense in advance of it. He burned heretics at the stake, massacred prisoners taken in battle, dreamed of crusades to the East, lusted for foreign conquest, and plunged recklessly into war, feeling sure, all the time, that in these things he was the chosen agent of God. Into the future Henry saw not at all; in this respect he stands far below his ancestors Henry II and Edward I.



HENRY V

The Crushing of the Lollards.—Since others had a better hereditary claim to the throne than Henry (see table p. 161) plotters were busy and some even of royal lineage were executed for treason. Many heretics perished too. The church was now really afraid of the Lollards, who were bitter in their attacks on both its doctrines and its property, and who found many listeners. That their teaching had pro-

duced a great effect became clear when the Commons begged the king to seize the lands of the bishops and of the religious orders. These funds would be enough, it was said, to keep up an army, and support a hundred hospitals as well. The Lollards had a powerful leader in Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. Henry V pleaded with him personally to give up his heresy, but Oldcastle was as earnest in his own views as was Henry himself in his. The Lollards even plotted to seize Henry, and thus to control the government. It was said that they had one hundred thousand men prepared to revolt. In great alarm, Henry seized many of the leaders, and Lord Cobham was himself taken in 1417. In spite of his position as a great landowner, he was hanged and then burnt for heresy. By such vigorous measures the Lollard danger was stayed, and the movement ceased to attract attention.

Henry claims the throne of France.—In nothing is Henry more clearly the child of his age than in his eagerness to take up the task of conquering France. It might well have seemed as if eighty long years of strife, in which England had rather lost than gained ground in France, would have been a warning. But Henry planned a new conquest, and for three chief reasons: first, war with France was desired by the English people, who remembered, it may be, the booty from France which found its way to England in the time of Edward III; secondly, Henry saw that, if the English nobles were engaged in a foreign war, there would be fewer plots against himself at home; and, thirdly, the condition of France was such as to give Henry reason to feel certain that to conquer it and turn its anarchy into order was a task to which he was called by God. A mad king, Charles VI, was on the throne. and the land was torn by two rival factions struggling for mastery. Henry thought his own title as the descendant of Edward III (see p. 118) better than that of the imbecile king, and he resolved to conquer France for its own good. He did not stop to think that the attempt would, in the long run, unite the French against the foreigner and make conquest impossible

Battle of Agincourt, 1415.—Henry made great preparations for the war, and the English prospects seemed brilliant enough. In 1415 he landed near Harfleur, and soon, with terrific noise, his cannon were projecting vast quantities of stones against that stronghold. When it fell, he began a long march to Calais. On the morning of October 25th he found a great French force massed together on the little plain of Agincourt. It barred his further advance, and his army, weary, half-starved, wet from incessant rains, and sick from dysentery, must now fight. The French outnumbered the English, probably five to one. Yet, when one of the English expressed regret that his king had not ten thousand more archers on the field, Henry rebuked him: "God Almighty," he said, "is able with this humble few to conquer the many, if so He please." It seemed as if the French had learned nothing since Crécy. Once more their mounted knights charged against English archers armed with the deadly long-bow. As the knights dashed across ploughed fields, soft from heavy rain, their horses stuck fast in the mud, and the English showered arrows upon the helpless riders. When these dismounted and tried to fight on foot in their armour, its weight left them still helpless. The English archers carried heavy leaden mallets with which they crashed through the head-piece and broke the skull of many a cumbered Frenchman. The slaughter on the field was terrible and was increased by the massacre of the prisoners; for Henry, fearing a renewed attack on his small force, ordered that those whom he had taken should be killed. Many of the slain were nobles. It was especially for the chivalry of France that Agincourt was so fatal a day.



DISMOUNTED FRENCH
KNIGHT ABOUT 1415
Note the heavy plate
armour.

The Treaty of Troyes, 1420.—When Henry returned home, the people waded out into the sea at Dover to carry him ashore. He was now a great popular hero, and all danger of such plots as had troubled the beginning of his reign (p. 145) was over. The war went on. Henry attacked Rouen, the capital of Normandy. When it fell in 1419 after a cruel siege, we find Henry granting Norman lands to Englishmen as William the Conqueror had granted English lands to Normans. So bitter was the war between the two factions in France, that one of them, the Armaguacs, caused, in 1419, the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, the leader of the opposing party. This drove the new Duke of Burgundy into an alliance with the English, which so aided Henry's plans that in 1420 he could dictate the humiliating Treaty of Troyes. Under it Henry married Katherine, the daughter of the king of France, and was adopted as heir to the throne. Meanwhile, Henry was to be regent, and France and England were to be perpetually united under one ruler. Of course, the disinherited Dauphin,



HENRY VI

son of Charles VI, would not accept terms that robbed him of a crown. For two years Henry toiled to complete the conquest, but his health broke down, and in August, 1422, he died, when his tasks were but half done. His last words were a wish that he might have lived to rebuild Jerusalem. With slow and stately pomp they bore his body to the sea-shore and across the sea to Westminster Abbey, where still may be seen, over his tomb, his saddle, his shield, blazoned with the lilies of France, and his helmet, borne in that solemn procession nearly five hundred years ago.

The reign of Henry VI, 1422-1461.—A child, eight months old, now sat in the seat of the conqueror at Agincourt, a child with sad years and a dark fate before him. Henry VI, the son of Henry V and of Katherine of France,

was the heir, as his supporters claimed, to the double inheritance of France and England. He was carefully taught. There is pathetic humour in his royal license to his tutors "to chastise us reasonably from time to time." He proved to be a gentle saint who was a lover of books and a patron of education; it was he who founded Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge. But his good qualities were not those which told in a rough and war-loving age. How could such a mild saint lead a warlike people filled with the lust of conquest, and hold in check a powerful nobility, some of whom thought their right to the throne better than his own?

Jeanne d'Arc.—The tragedy of Henry VI can be briefly told. His uncle John, Duke of Bedford, tried to carry on the war of conquest in France, and for a time he seemed to prosper. The mad old king was now dead, and, though his son, Charles VII, fought for his throne, by 1428 Bedford had the last French force shut up in Orleans. To gain this place would mean final victory. But the French, taught by the miseries of defeat, needed only an inspiring leader to throw off the English

yoke; and a girl came forward to play this part. Jeanne d'Arc, the daughter of a peasant, sprang from a class which had good reason to hate the English. From childhood she had heard tales of the cruel invaders and of the yoke laid by them upon France, and these troubles filled her with a passionate desire to free her country. God, she thought, called her, by certain mysterious voices, to go forth and lead the armies of France to victory, until the king should be



JEANNE D'ARC (1411?-1431)

filled the French. In 1429 Jeanne, clad in white armour, advanced to Orleans, before which the English lay. They had been confident of success, but were soon dismayed by the new vigour of the French. Jeanne seemed to them a witch, and at last, in something like panic, they retired and raised the siege of Orleans.

End of the Hundred Years' War, 1453.—The tide had turned, and now the French people were sure of deliverance. The English soon lost Rheims, and Charles VII was crowned there, with the simple, ignorant peasant maid at his side. Her work was done, for she had made the French realize that they were a nation. When, a little later, she fell into Bedford's hands, her own king made no move to save her, and she was tried, condemned as a sorceress and heretic, and burned at the stake at Rouen, in 1431. Her death helped to complete the work of her life. An Englishman, who saw her tortures and heard her last cry of "Jesus," said, "We are lost, we have burnt a saint." Bedford himself died in 1435, and then the English cause was really lost. No other Englishman could succeed where the able Bedford had failed. The French had now learned to use cannon to crush an advancing line, as the English had used archers. The last fight was at Castillon, in France, in 1453, when the charging English were mowed down by artillery and annihilated. The king of England continued long to call himself king of France too, but the title had no meaning. Earlier kings of England had, indeed, ruled in a part of France, for they held Aquitaine. Now, however, the English were forced to yield even Aquitaine. Nothing remained of all they had held in France except Calais, and, after another hundred years, Calais, too, was lost.

3. THE WARS OF THE ROSES AND THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

The beginning of the Wars of the Roses, 1455.—Profound humiliation at the loss of France was soon overshadowed in England by the darker cloud of civil war. Ever since

Henry IV had dethroned Richard II, the right of the Lancastrian line had been disputed. The opposing claimant was now Richard, Duke of York (see his genealogy p. 161). That discontent existed in England was shown when one Jack Cade led a rising, in 1450, to protest against extortionate taxes. It was crushed easily enough, but some of the great nobles kept alive the discontent in their own interests. Henry VI had married, in 1445, Margaret of Anjou, a princess of very strong character. For a long time there was no child of the marriage, and the Duke of York was the heir to the throne and the foremost man in England. He seemed certain of the throne, but his hopes were dashed when, in 1453, Margaret bore a son. York was an able man, trusted by the English much more than was the foreign Margaret. When, in 1454, poor Henry VI became insane, Parliament made York protector, in spite of Margaret's jealous efforts to prevent it. Soon Henry recovered, and then York was dismissed. He claimed that the king was surrounded by evil counsellors, and demanded that their designs should be checked. Both sides were now arming. The first open struggle was at St. Albans in 1455. It was little more than a skirmish, but York was victor. The king remained in his hands and for a time he was supreme.

Slight effect of the wars on the towns.—Thus began the Wars of the Roses. The red rose was the emblem of Lancaster, the white rose that of York. Though the strife did not end until thirty years later, actual war broke out only at irregular intervals. Twice only did an outbreak last for a year. Moreover, the masses of the people took little part in the struggle. It was carried on by the great nobles. They had vast estates, from which, as need arose, they could summon hundreds of armed followers. When the leaders of either side wished to strike a blow, word was passed to their retainers, who gathered quickly. A march and a fight would follow. The long-bow was still used; there was also artillery, and now, at last, we hear of smaller firearms. But the fighting was chiefly at close quarters and on foot.

Savage and bloody, almost beyond parallel, the struggle was; for each side regarded the other as traitors to the state. Thousands were butchered in battle, and prisoners who survived the fight were often executed in cold blood.

There were few sieges. The issue was usually fought out in the open field, and after a decisive battle the levies of each side were quickly disbanded, and war ended for the time. The towns had little share in the struggle, and seemed to care little for either cause so long as they were left free to carry on profitable trade. They usually opened their gates cheerfully to the side victorious for the time. During the period, wealth increased rapidly, a



fact which shows that trade was not greatly interrupted. There is also evidence that many costly churches were built and that, while the barons and their armed retainers were dying on the field or losing their heads upon the block, the working classes lived in peace and comparative comfort.

Battle of Wakefield, 1460; Towton, 1461.—The Yorkists met with a crushing blow, when York fell in a great battle at Wakefield, in 1460. In mockery of his claims, Margaret crowned his head with paper and put it over the gates of York. But the English did not like the foreign queen, followed, as she was, by a motley array of hired followers,

who pillaged the country mercilessly. The nation favoured York's son Edward, who, though only nineteen, proved a born leader. He secured London, and, on March 4th, 1461, he did what York had feared to do; he declared himself lawful



RICHARD, DUKE OF
YORK (1410-1460)

king as Edward IV. England had now two kings, and loyalty to one was treason to the other, with all the dreadful penalties that treason involved (p. 108). A few weeks later, Edward met Margaret's host at Towton, near York, and won a great victory. Forty thousand dead strewed that bloody field. Not long afterwards King Henry fell into Edward's hands, Margaret fled to France, and Edward now seemed secure on the throne.

King Edward IV, 1461, and Warwick the King-maker.—At the young Edward's side, during the struggle, was one who may well have thought himself the real organizer of victory. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was the richest and the greatest of the English barons. He lived in state equal to that of the king. Able, far-sighted, and alert, this "king-maker" thought to rule a youthful monarch who, loving pleasure as he did, seemed to be only a careless profligate. In reality, Edward was as resolute and fixed in his

views as Warwick. Once on the throne he did what he liked and paid little heed to advice. Warwick wished him to ally himself by marriage with some great royal house. Instead, Edward went his own way and married secretly a widow, Elizabeth Woodville, a daughter of Lord Rivers, and head of a family which the proud Warwick affected to despise.

Victories of Edward IV at Barnet and Tewkesbury, 1471.—Of course the two men quarrelled. Then Edward showed his contempt for the power of Warwick by dismissing George

Neville, his brother, from the post of chancellor. Edward also went on with plans for war with France, a project which Warwick bitterly opposed. Warwick's ambition soared high. In 1469 he secured the marriage of his daughter to Edward's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, a hint that he might take up again the trade of king-maker and put Clarence on the throne. Each side armed, but, for the time, Warwick proved the stronger, and it was not long before he had made prisoners of Edward and some of his chief followers. His execution of the queen's father and brother, without the semblance of a trial, showed his implacable hate. Edward spoke smooth words for the time, since he was in Warwick's power, but any reconciliation was impossible and each side was resolved to destroy the other. In 1470, Edward was strong enough to drive Warwick into exile. The earl now turned to the Lancastrian side, against which, while Edward's friend, he had waged relentless war. In France he met and became reconciled with Margaret, wife of Henry VI, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to her son Edward, the heir to the Lancastrian claims. Once more Warwick proved himself a real king-maker. Having secured French aid, he landed in England and appealed to his adherents with such effect that Edward had to



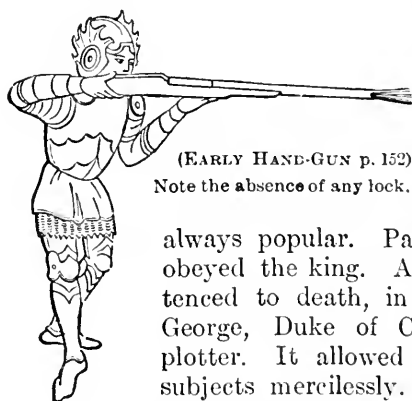
RICHARD NEVILLE EARL OF WAR-
WICK (1428-1471)

flee from the country. Warwick put again on the throne the poor deranged and captive king Henry VI. Edward IV was, however, a dangerous enemy. He secured aid on the continent and landed in the north in March, 1471. The struggle was soon over. Edward IV, who had never been

vanquished in battle, defeated and killed Warwick at Barnet, near London. Soon after, he met, at Tewkesbury, a force which Margaret had brought to England. The Yorkist victory was complete and ruthless. Henry VI's only son was killed after the battle, and a few days later that king himself was murdered in the Tower. With every dangerous enemy swept from his path, Edward IV ruled at last without a rival.

4. THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF YORK

Edward IV, 1461-1483.—This first Yorkist king was a despot. Civil war had brought the masses of the English people to the belief that it was absolutely necessary to have a strong king, who could crush his enemies, and



(EARLY HAND-GUN p. 152)
Note the absence of any lock.

they were glad to see a despot over them. The crown becomes now the one strong power in the state. Edward IV, tall, handsome, and pleasing and hearty in manners, was absolute and yet

always popular. Parliament still met, but it obeyed the king. At Edward's wish it sentenced to death, in 1475, his own brother George, Duke of Clarence, an incorrigible plotter. It allowed Edward to plunder his subjects mercilessly. He extorted from rich men what he called "Benevolences"—gifts

of money. Having summoned them to his presence, he would state how much he expected, and they found it prudent to pay. These levies on the rich did not make Edward unpopular. The great landowners had themselves often extorted money from the common people, who now had something akin to revenge in seeing the king plunder their old oppressors. Edward used much of the money to fit out an army to invade France; then he secured more

money by obtaining a pension from Louis XI of France to abandon the war. Edward had two sides to his character. Against possible dangers he was alert and suspicious; on the other hand, he was a careless pleasure-seeker, given to drunkenness and evil living. His habits ruined his health and he died, in 1483, when only forty-one years old.

Edward V. 1483.—The reign of his son, a child, was to bring ruin to the House of York. Edward V was only thirteen and his weak and foolish mother, Elizabeth Woodville, asserted the right to be protector of the kingdom during her son's minority. There was, however, another who claimed that place. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving brother of Edward IV, a prince thirty-three years old, had been named in Edward's will as the guardian of his heir. He was able and resolute, and had tact and personal charm; he was, too, a brilliant soldier, and he had always been loyal to his brother Edward IV. But he saw that he might become king if he put out of the way his innocent nephew, and he fell before the temptation. The story of Edward V is a dark tragedy. Richard became protector, and lodged the young king in the Tower. Soon it was said everywhere that the little prince was not the true heir. Stillington, Bishop of Bath, declared that he had himself officiated at a marriage contract between Edward IV and a certain Lady Butler, and that, in consequence, Edward's later marriage with Elizabeth Woodville was invalid. It was urged, in short, that, in default of lawful issue to Edward IV, Richard was the heir to the throne.

The murder of Edward V.—Some of those friendly to Richard, drew back when they saw his design. Among these was Lord Hastings, who had been one of the chief advisers of Edward IV. Then it was seen how hard Richard would strike. One day, at a council in the Tower, he suddenly bared a withered arm, declared that this deformity had been caused by the magic of his enemies, and accused Hastings of being a party to it. Such a charge seems an almost incredible piece of stage-play, for it is probable that the

arm had been deformed from Richard's youth. Nevertheless, Hastings was led at once to the courtyard, and, without semblance of trial, was beheaded on a block of wood. Men began now to see that Richard would spare no one who stood in his path. The second son of Edward IV fell into his hands, and then the gates of the Tower closed for ever upon him and his brother, Edward V. Meanwhile, from the pulpit, and in the market-place, the talk about Edward IV's false marriage was repeated. Then some of Richard's tools invited him to assume the crown, and, after



EARL RIVERS PRESENTING HIS BOOK TO EDWARD IV

The child at the king's left is Edward V. The figure at the earl's right has been thought to be Caxton, the first English printer (p. 181).

a show of hesitation, he accepted. On June 26th, he was publicly proclaimed king, and Edward V ceased to rule even in name. But the young prince and his brother were a menace to the usurper, and they died a month or two after his accession, murdered, it was believed, though when or by whom was never known. Long after, in 1674,

workmen found the skeletons of two boys at the foot of a staircase in the White Tower, and there is little doubt that the grave then gave up, at last, the secret of the guilty burial, two hundred years earlier.

Richard III, 1483-1485.—Richard had secured the throne, but his crimes turned the nation against him. Cruel though Edward IV was, he had struck down only the enemies of his line; Richard was destroying his own family. It must be said to the credit of Richard, however, that he tried to rule well. His one Parliament condemned Edward IV's "Benevolences," proclaimed free trade in printed books, and discarded the old Norman-French, so that for the first time the laws of England were enacted in the English tongue. It declared Richard's son heir to the throne. When the young prince died suddenly, Richard's grief was terrible. No doubt the lack of a direct heir helped to shake his authority. He made terms with the widow of Edward IV, and, when his own wife sickened and died, it was believed that he designed to marry his niece Elizabeth, the sister of the murdered princes. His best friends were compelled to tell him that the project was viewed with horror.

The Battle of Bosworth, 1485.—Another suitor for the young princess now appeared. Henry, Earl of Richmond, a son of the Welsh house of Tudor, was the heir of the Lancastrian line (see his ancestry p. 161). He declared that, if he won the throne, he would marry Elizabeth, Edward IV's daughter, and unite for ever Lancaster and York. He landed on August 7th, 1485, among his own people in Wales, with some two thousand motley and disreputable foreign followers, mainly from Normandy. The struggle with Richard lasted but two weeks. Some of Richard's professed friends gave secret support to Henry, and, on August 22nd, the rivals met at Bosworth Field, near Leicester. Few were engaged on either side; probably so slight a struggle never before decided issues so great. Richard III, betrayed through his supposed friends, fell on the field. The crown he wore, carried off perhaps by a

thief, was found hidden in a thorn bush. Sir William Stanley put it upon Richmond's head, and the army proclaimed the new king, Henry VII. On the same afternoon he entered Leicester in triumph, and the body of Richard III, stripped naked, and thrown across the back of a horse, was part of the rude pageant of that day. Richard was the last of the Plantagenets. Long before, Richard I had said of his line, "From the devil we all came, and to the devil we all shall go." The last king's tragic wickedness and end form the darkest chapter in all the troubled history of his house.

TOPICS

I. A comparison of the position of the Commons under Henry IV with their position under Edward I. What foes Henry IV met in the battle of Shrewsbury.

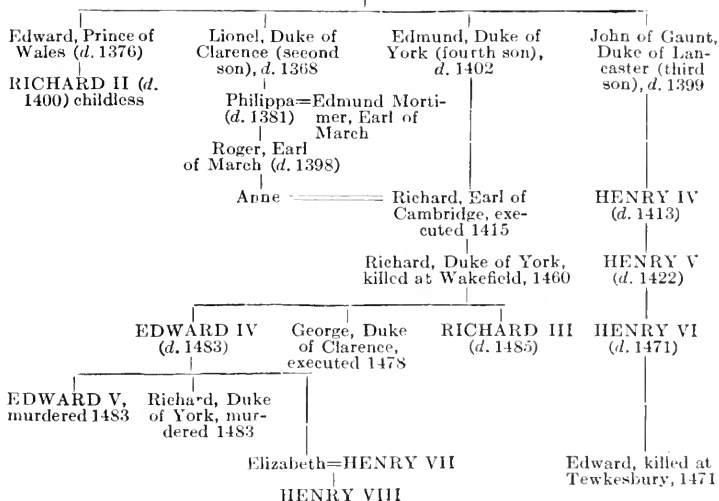
II. The danger from the Lollards and how Henry V met it. Had Henry V a better prospect of winning France than Edward III? Show how long the king of England had held Aquitaine and how he came to lose it. Did he preserve any footing in France?

III. What caused the Wars of the Roses? Did they affect English commerce greatly? Why Edward IV and Warwick quarrelled. Why England needed a strong king.

IV. Why was Richard III weak in England, and why was Bosworth an easy victory for Henry VII?

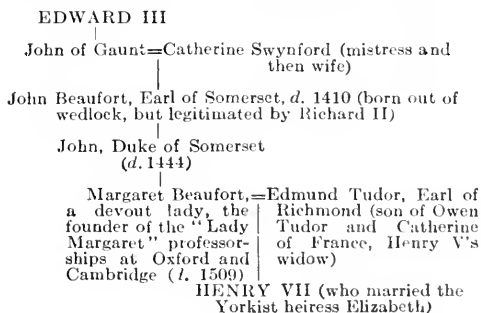
GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

EDWARD III
(*d.* 1377)



NOTE.—It will be seen that the Yorkist line, descended on the *male* side from a son of Edward III younger than the Lancastrian ancestor, was yet on the *female* side descended from an elder son.

The following table shows Henry VII's Lancastrian descent :



CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETY AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1. THE LAWLESSNESS OF THE UPPER CLASSES

The great nobles.—The victory at Bosworth gave England a real master in the person of Henry VII. English kingship, now to be so powerful, had had a troubled history. Of the nine kings who had ruled since Edward I died, four were murdered, and a fifth escaped this fate only by death in battle. For a long time the royal control was so relaxed that some of the nobles seemed to rival the king



KNIGHT, TWELFTH CENTURY
Note the huge shield and the long robe of chain armour.



KNIGHT, END OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY
Note the small shield and the metal plates on the shoulder.

in power. Compared with the five or six hundred peers of the present time, the nobles of that day were few. Usually only about thirty sat in the House of Lords. They spent

most of the year, not in town, but in the country, where they kept up regal pomp. The Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Buckingham had hundreds of retainers daily at dinner; they kept their chancellors, chamberlains, treasurers, and cup-bearers, and were served on bended knee, with etiquette as rigid as that of royalty itself. The Earl of Northumberland had at least twenty castles, and we can form some idea of their magnificence from Alnwick, which still endures. He issued mandates in the style of royal decrees; in his own district his authority counted for more than did that of the distant king. The Duke of Buckingham's estates yielded him a revenue equal, in modern values, to £200,000. Lesser barons were glad to send their sons to his court to receive knightly training. Around each castle was usually a great park, where the nobles amused themselves with the royal pastime of hunting.



KNIGHT
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The violence of the times.—During the unrest caused by the Wars of the Roses, the nobles sometimes carried on war as if they were sovereigns. The Duke of Norfolk covets Caister, the castle of Sir John Fastolfe, and lays siege to it with an army of three thousand men. Day after day he batters the walls with his artillery. Finally, the besieged are allowed to march out with the honours of war. Society is torn by bloody factions. The son and the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham are walking in the streets of Coventry in the dusk of the evening when Sir Robert Harcourt and his men attack and kill them both. In the affray that follows two more perish, and others are wounded. What the great men do the lesser imitate with even more brutal violence. Discharged soldiers and even young men of good family rival Robin

Hood, already accounted a romantic hero, and live by robbery. Farmers find it necessary to keep fierce dogs to protect their houses. Women are carried off and forced



MOUNTED KNIGHT, FIFTEENTH CENTURY
Note that the horse wears plate armour.

to marry their captors. Children are kidnaped and held for ransom. What we know as "lynching" is common. In the reign of Henry VI, before the civil war broke out, while one John Grice is entertaining some friends, armed men surround the house and carry off Grice, his son, and his servant. Unable to find a rope with which to hang their victims, they cut them to pieces, and the crime appears to have gone unpunished. Two or three years later, we find one Serjeant Paston, a lawyer of Nor-

wich, threatened with death and dismemberment, like Grice, if he shows too great zeal in a certain lawsuit. Paston does not appeal to the king for protection, but to the great Duke of Norfolk, and at last bargains with his enemies for his safety. The chivalry of the crusading days had lost all vigour; a little later, Cervantes made its fantastic code ridiculous in the satire of "Don Quixote." Yet even a fantastic code was better than the cold-blooded treachery, the ruthless butchery of even prisoners of rank, which stain the annals of the Wars of the Roses.

Arms and armour.—The equipment of the warrior had

changed gradually. In the days of King Richard Lionheart a knight wore chain mail. This consisted of a long tunic, known as the hauberk, of leather or cloth covered with rings or plates of steel; often in one piece with it was a hood drawn over the head. Such a warrior carried in his left hand a shield, sometimes three or four feet long, and often decorated with his own coat of arms; in his right hand he bore a spear, while at his side hung a sword. He required great skill to manage his horse and, at the same time, to use spear and shield with effect. By the fifteenth century, we find heavy plate armour; breast, shoulders, arms, and legs, were shielded with a casing of steel, on which arrows and even blows had little effect. When the warrior in plate armour dismounted, and tried to fight on foot, as he did at Agincourt, he moved with difficulty. If he once fell, he could not rise, and then he was easily vanquished by plebeian foemen who wore no armour. Only the well-to-do could afford the costly equipment of plate armour. After the use of firearms began it became obsolete. It was, however, still worn long after the close of the Middle Ages.



COMPLETE SUIT OF PLATE
ARMOUR, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

2. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Religion.—During the fifteenth century, morals sank to a low ebb. In the time of Lanfranc and Anselm, bishops and abbots were appointed because of their godly character. Now these posts were gained by family influence, and the

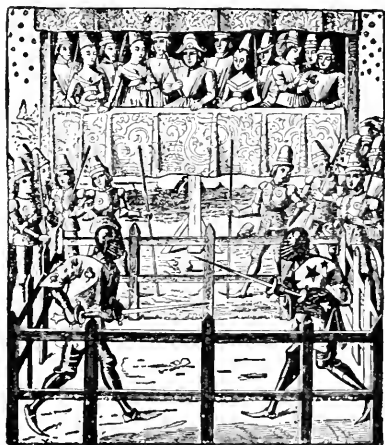
chief ecclesiastics were members of the great baronial houses. A social gulf yawned between them and the people. The clergy were very numerous. Friars still went about from parish to parish, preaching and begging. Their influence had, however, declined, for few of them now showed the zeal to relieve suffering and need which had made Francis of Assisi so beloved (p 95). There were signs of religious unrest. A writer of the period says that, in the time of Henry IV, every other man was a Wycliffite. This, however, cannot be true. The parish priests, if not the friars, still wielded great influence ; to a foreign visitor the clergy seemed to rule the country. Many beautiful churches were built in the fifteenth century and endowed with great riches; to stay away from church was still punished by fine, and observers were struck by the reverent demeanour of the people. Yet great changes were coming. In earlier times devout men of wealth often showed their munificence by founding religious houses; now it was colleges and hospitals that they built. As early as in the days of Richard II, William of Wykeham founded New College, Oxford, and the first English public school, Winchester; while, a little later, the saintly Henry VI founded King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College. Some of the monasteries were already half empty, and there were towns in which education was no longer in the hands of the priests.

The prevention of crime.—It is clear that those who tried in this age to preserve order had much to do. In nothing does the whole period of the Middle Ages contrast more sharply with modern times than in the method of dealing with crime. In a mediæval village the men were divided into groups of ten, called "tithings," and the members were responsible for one another's conduct. They took a formal obligation, called the "frank-pledge," to discharge this police duty. Every villager was required to join a tithing. Other methods of preventing crime were also tried. To prevent outrage at night, William the Conqueror had introduced into England the curfew; when the church bell rang in the evening, the people were to close their doors and not to

go out again. Yet evil-doers still went abroad in the dark, and it often happened that they murdered husband and wife, sons and daughters, in some lonely house, and carried off anything worth taking. When an evil deed was discovered and the alarm was raised, it was every man's duty to join this "hue and cry," and to track the criminal down, if he could. But to capture those who had done their work in the silence of the night was not easy, for the peasants were busy with their own toil, and were so stolid in their ignorance as not to be greatly concerned to aid the cause of justice.

Trial by jury and the ordeal.—The mode of dealing with accused persons was also vastly different from that of our own age. Trial by jury, the germ of which we find under Henry II (p 80), slowly changed its character. At first, the jurors were themselves the witnesses in a case, but, in time, they were obliged to take the evidence of others, as to points on which they had

no personal knowledge, and thus the jury, as we know it, was developed. The new method of trial was needed. Under the old system of the ordeal (p. 36) a man accused of crime was deemed innocent if he had plunged his arm into boiling water and, when uncovered later, it was found not to have festered. The Normans had brought to England another kind of ordeal, that of trial by battle. If one man ac-

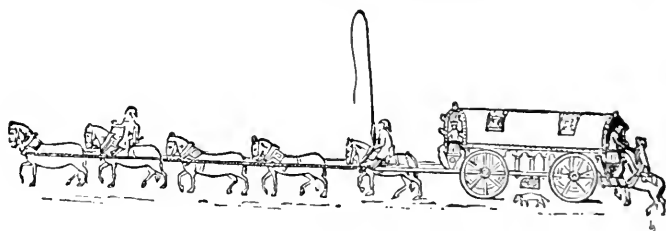


A TRIAL BY BATTLE

cused another, the two, armed with weapons like short pickaxes, fought until one forced the other to yield. It was assumed that the God of Battles would give victory

to the one who was in the right. As early as 1215 the ordeal was falling into disuse and trial by jury was growing in favour. Yet, for many more centuries, an accused man might refuse trial by jury, and, under the law, he could not be so tried until his consent was given. The law permitted force to be used to compel his consent. He was asked, "How will you be tried?" and if he answered, "By God and my country," which meant by a jury, his trial proceeded. But if he refused this answer, he was liable to torture under heavy weights until he either died from this *peine forte et dure*, or consented. An accused man might see that hanging was inevitable if he should be tried by a jury, and might prefer the terrible suffering of being pressed to death, since then he would die unconvicted, and his property would go to his family and not be forfeited to the state.

Means of communication.—During the Middle Ages the outward aspect of England changed but little. At the close of the period the population was probably smaller than it



LADY'S CHARIOT, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The many horses are due to the cumbrous vehicle and to the bad roads.

had been during the Roman occupation. Much of the land was still covered by vast forests, in which roamed great herds of deer. The wild boar, the wild goat, and the wild cat, now unknown in England, were still to be found; the beaver, though scarce, was not extinct, and wolves were numerous. Roads and means of communication had grown worse instead of better. In earlier times the villeins and freemen on the manor had to repair the roads and bridges,

but now much of this work was left to chance. Rochester Bridge remained in a dangerous state, generation after generation. An Aylesbury miller, desiring clay to repair his mill, dug it from the highway, and made a hole ten feet wide and eight deep. This soon filled with water, and one night a passing wayfarer and his horse fell into it and were drowned. A jury acquitted the miller, since the road seemed to be the only place where he could get the required clay! The great forests held moisture in the soil, and the slower drainage kept the rivers larger than they are now and made them more easily navigable. To cross them was difficult. Bridges were few, and travellers, obliged to pass over by fords, were often in danger from the frequent floods. Because the roads were too bad for vehicles, goods were taken to inland points on mules or horses. This practice made it difficult to carry grain to places that could not be reached by boat, with the result that the price of grain varied greatly at different centres. It might command famine prices in the north, while cheap in the south.

Agriculture.—Farmers grew only a few varieties of vegetables and grasses. Cattle were often fed on moss, ivy, and the loppings of trees, and, owing to the scarcity of fodder, comparatively few were kept through the winter. No attempt was made to improve breeds; it is probable that an ox or a cow was little more than half the size of similar cattle to-day; a team of eight and sometimes of twelve oxen was required to draw a plough. Ploughing was still a mere scratching of the surface; and, since the value of fertilization was little understood, the soil had become so poor that eight or nine bushels to the acre were regarded as a fair crop. The farmer thus reaped but little more than four times what he sowed. Rents were low; a carpenter could earn in a day the fourpence sufficient to pay the rent of an acre of arable land for a year; and a tangled waste of gorse or furze, because of the fuel which it provided, was of more value than land for farming.

The effect of the wool trade.—For one commodity there

was a steady market. English wool found ready sale, and, when Henry VII became king, the English farmer was beginning to use a great part of his exhausted land for the pasturing of sheep. While the land was devoted to grazing, few labourers were needed. In consequence many were dismissed, and manors which had sustained a thriving population were sometimes left with few inhabitants. Riots and disorder troubled the villages when the labourers were thrown out of work, but such changes were inevitable and, in the end, wrought good. When used for pasture, the land had the rest it needed. Moreover, owing to low prices, a humble freeman was now sometimes able to rent a whole manor, and, instead of a lord of the manor, the village then had a leader who was himself a working farmer, often well-to-do and hospitable. While the great lords were destroying each other, this "frankleyn" farmed his acres and became a man of substance. The class was more numerous in England, during the fifteenth century, than in any other European country.

3. THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH TOWN

The liberties of the towns.—In earlier times, England had been mainly agricultural; now she had become also a manufacturing country. Cloth made from her own excellent wool was her great staple of manufacture, but she had, too, iron mines and forges; she made guns, and stately ships. The Low Countries, long the more important in trade, had begun to decline, and England was becoming the industrial centre of northern Europe. The towns now multiplied; and their first care was to secure the right of self-government. Usually the lord of the manor had authority over a town which grew up on his estate. He could levy tolls and charge fees for the right to buy and sell. But, step by step, the towns either bought such rights, or gained their freedom under charter from the king. The townsmen were keenly alive to the interests of their little community. They took turns in watching the streets at night; they had com

mon rights of pasturage on the town meadow; in some cases the whole body of townsmen was responsible for the debts of each of its members. The community, too, often provided passion plays and other amusements. The townsmen sometimes controlled the church, and even claimed as their own the sums paid for masses.

The guilds.—The guilds were prominent in the life of the towns. Since a Merchant Guild held sometimes a valuable monopoly in a branch of trade, it is no wonder that such guilds grew rich, and that the Guild Hall often became the centre of civic life. Artisans, too, organized their own Craft Guilds, which excluded all but members from any share in their branch of handiwork. No doubt, the guilds, strong in their privileges, were selfish and tyrannical. But, since monopoly checked competition, they had little temptation to do bad work, and usually gave good measure and good quality. Like modern benefit and insurance societies, they took care of their members, and they also gave money to aid education. To this day, some of the guilds survive in London, and use their abundant revenues for the public benefit. Though declining, at the close of the Middle Ages, they were still strong, and guarded their privileges jealously. It was difficult for an outsider to join even the guilds of the trained artisans; usually only the sons of existing members might enter. When Parliament itself did not do so, the guilds regulated the rate of wages.

The risks of commerce.—The townsmen united for defence, especially in the seaports, for the sea was infested with pirates, who could easily land and set fire to the flimsy houses of the town, and who made unsafe even the crossing of the Thames near London. The products of England found



TRADER
THIRTEENTH CENTURY

an increased market in Europe. Foreign ships had long been the chief carriers of English wares, but, by the time of Richard III, England was building a merchant marine. As yet there was no royal navy to protect her commerce on

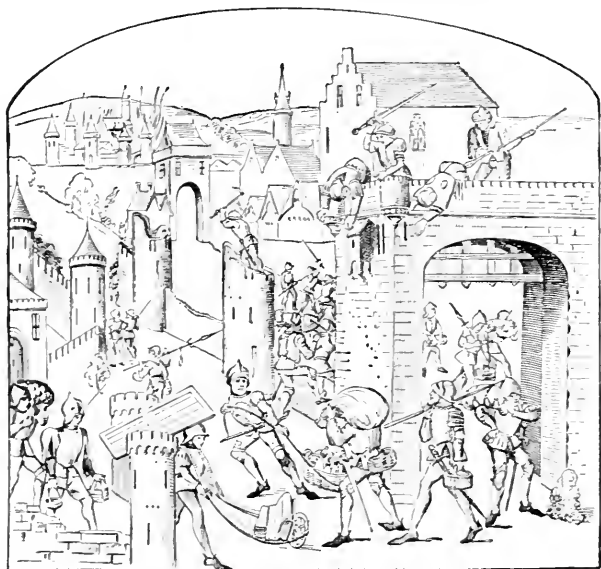


OCEAN SHIP OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

the sea; this was to be the creation of Henry VIII. In order to be safe, ships sailed in company, but there was always danger. Marauders of a supposedly friendly nation sometimes seized cargo and ship, and hanged crew and passengers on the yards of their own vessels. There were perils, too, from the king's uncertain exactions, and from the fraud and malice of rival traders. Insurance was hardly known, and, to a preacher of the time, the merchant with his load of care, from which he gets no relief, is the type of the sinner burdened with sin. Yet many a trader grew rich; by the end of the fifteenth century there were merchants in some English towns who lived in such splendid state that it seemed to a village poet worthy of the Lord of Heaven himself.

The traders and the nobles.—If, in this age, the townsman was growing steadily richer, some of the great lords, engaged in war, were growing poorer as the fifteenth century advanced. They still commanded outward deference; a great train followed them; the bells of a parish were rung as

a noble passed through it; when his name was mentioned in an assembly of commoners, they doffed their hats in reverence. But the towns, not the nobles, had now the power of money; the great Warwick, with vast estates and wealth of plate and fine clothes, is yet found begging a small loan of ready cash. A trader's daughter sometimes married into the landed class, and, though received with something like disdain in her husband's circle, she could still contrast the magnificence of her father's house with the signs of



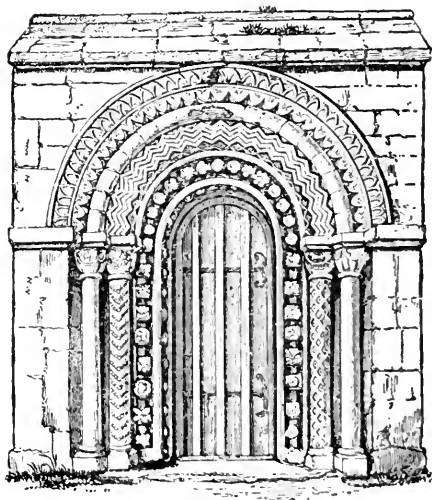
PILLAGE OF MEDIEVAL TOWN
Note the costumes and the architecture.

poverty about her. In the town itself there were distinctions of rank and caste, the wool merchant being apt to look down upon other traders.

4. ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Norman architecture.—The spirit of a people expresses

itself in its buildings and mediæval England has a notable record in architecture. Before the Norman Conquest most of the buildings were of wood, but the Normans despised this primitive material and reared massive structures in stone. The Romans had been great builders, and the Norman used the round Roman arch, but his work was rougher, his walls were thicker, his pillars heavier, than those of Rome. He had nothing to equal the Roman mortar, more enduring in some cases than the stones which it held together, and at first his primitive carving was done with an axe. But his work improved rapidly. Taught, perhaps, by the returning



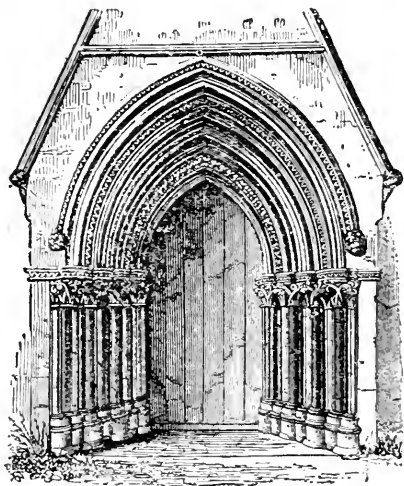
NORMAN DOORWAY, IFFLEY, ABOUT 1110

Note the elaborate ornament.

crusaders, who had seen better architecture in other lands the Norman builder soon matured his style, and the lavish ornament, which he bestowed on even tiny country churches, surprises us still; in vast structures like Durham Cathedral and in small ones like Iffley Church, the same wealth of care is to be found. We wonder how villages could bear the cost of the beautiful churches that were built. The bishop

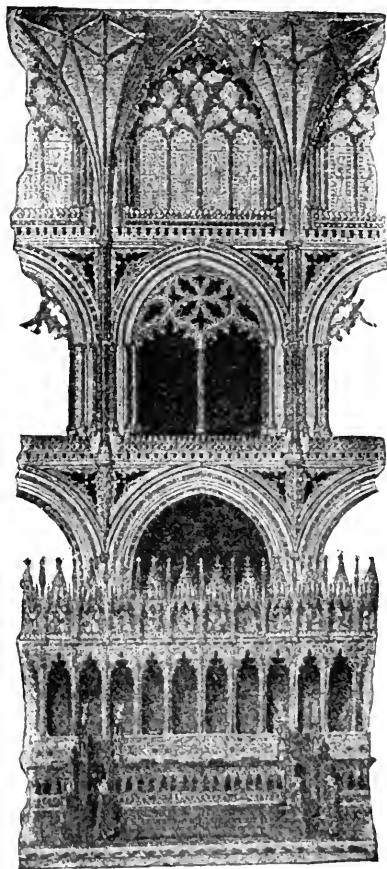
had power to order the erection of a church, and the villagers must find means to obey; for it was usually they, and not some great man or monastery, who met the cost of erecting a village church.

Early English Gothic and Decorated Gothic.—The devotion to the round-arched Norman architecture continued for a hundred years; but when, in 1174, Canterbury Cathedral was partly destroyed by fire, the architect who rebuilt it made great use of the pointed arch. The style was wholly new, and was called, in derision, "Gothic," after the early barbarian conquerors of Italy. But its convenience and beauty were quickly recognized, and, from the reign of John, the buildings in England for a hundred years are in the "Early English" phase of this style. New mouldings and ornaments, clustered shafts, and delicately carved foliage, soon appeared. The high pointed arches and the long narrow windows carried the eye upward, in contrast with the horizontal lines of the Norman style. After a century had passed, and about the time when Edward I succeeded to the throne, the "Early English" Gothic had developed into something more elaborate, known as the "Decorated." The windows were adorned with varied and graceful tracery in stone and were filled with stained glass, one of the beautiful products of the time. A "Decorated" church gave fine effects in both lines and colour.



EARLY ENGLISH DOORWAY, SKELTON,
ABOUT 1250

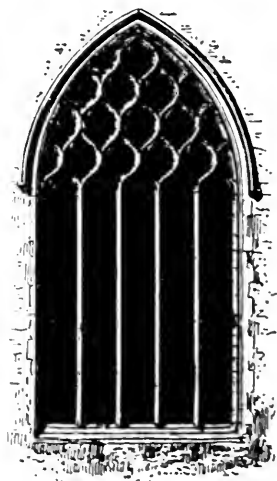
The Perpendicular Gothic.—Fashion, however, changes in architecture, as in all else. By the time of Richard II, the



CHOIR, ELY.—DECORATED STYLE,
ABOUT 1325

Note the complex tracery in the windows.

“Perpendicular” style had supplanted the “Decorated,” and this style lasted to the time of Henry VII. The style is peculiar to England and is in sharp contrast with the earlier Gothic. A beautiful complexity of lines in the tracery of the window-openings is no longer sought. In large windows, planned to admit floods of light,



DECORATED WINDOW, READING,
ABOUT 1306

lines cross each other at right angles wherever possible; the heads of the arches are almost square. Vaulted stone



PERPENDICULAR INTERIOR, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, ABOUT 1355

Note the immense window and the beautiful stone vaulting of the roof, a feature of the perpendicular style.

roofs show exquisite fan tracery, massive in weight, but light and graceful in appearance. The "Perpendicular" is the last stage of Gothic architecture; no further development was possible.

The mediæval castle.—In the early Norman period, a baronial castle consisted usually of a great, square keep, with massive stone walls, sometimes thirty feet thick at the base. Before the use of gunpowder had brought danger from artillery, such a place might hold out as long as its occupants had food and drink. It was surrounded by a ditch, or moat, filled with water if possible, across which was thrown a drawbridge, in troubled times lowered only with great caution. These castles were cramped and comfortless, and the walls were so thick that but little light could penetrate through the narrow openings to the small rooms. As society became more settled, the cheerless Norman keep gave place to something more attractive. By the time of Edward I, we have what is called the Edwardian castle. It stood often on some high hill and was reached by a winding road. At the entrance was an imposing gateway, itself a tower of defence; sometimes a second and a third moat and wall must be passed before the inner court-yard was reached. Here were to be found, at last, not merely the hall and the few cell-like bed-chambers of the earlier age, but a dwelling-house which, in time, became comfortable. Such castles were very costly to build and maintain. They were indeed fortresses, with a considerable garrison, and most of them passed into the hands of the king, or into those of a few nobles who had his license. The Wars of the Roses, which tended to revive the power of the nobles, led some of them to fortify their residences. Artillery was, however, making the castle of little use in war, and, at the close of the Middle Ages, the richer nobles lived in sumptuous palaces, built without much thought of military defence.

The manor house.—The village squire, or lord of the manor, lived in the manor-house, and its style of building changed as did that of the castle. The old English manor-house

was often a "moated grange," that is, a house surrounded for defence by a moat, crossed by a drawbridge. Sometimes the hall had towers for defence in days of disorder. The house slowly changed. At last, there were rooms with large windows; the walls were often richly wainscotted;



HALL, ACTON BURNELL MANOR-HOUSE, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The towers at each end were probably for defensive purposes.

we find fireplaces, instead of the former hearth-stone in the centre of the floor; and comfort, rather than defence during war, was becoming the chief end in view. Merchants in the towns lived in considerable state before the close of the Middle Ages (p. 172). Canning's house at Bristol, with its tiled floors, rich hangings, and beautiful stained glass, shows how pleasing a rich trader's surroundings might be. Yet we still notice much that is poor and mean. Guests slept many in a bed, and furniture was so scanty that a few pounds would provide the outfit for a well-to-do household. No trader's house appears to have had a library. The chief patrons of literature were the nobles.

Social habits.—From many signs it appears that the English were better fed than their neighbours in continental Europe; a writer of the fifteenth century notes their good farms, abundant food, clothing, and bed-covering, in con-

trast with the condition of the French of the same rank. Meat was cheap, and the English were heavy meat-eaters. The hours for meals differed greatly from those of the present time. Every one rose with the sun; and the work of the day was well advanced when the dinner-hour came at nine o'clock. Soon after the evening meal at about

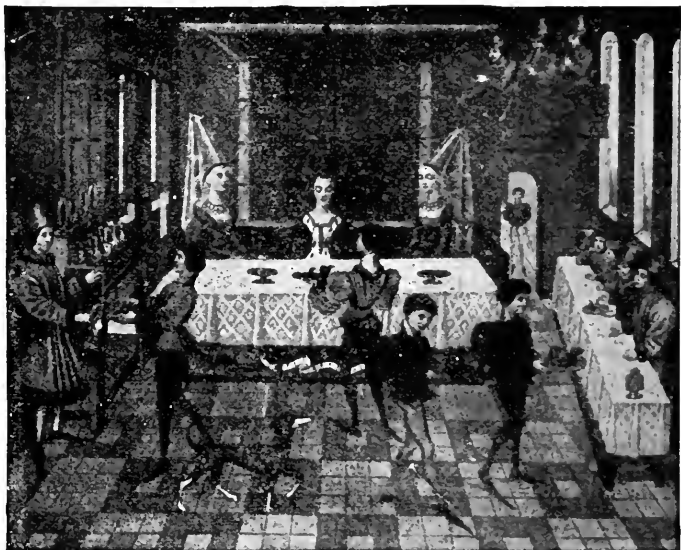


TABLE SERVICE, LADY OF QUALITY, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Note the minstrels in the gallery, the fashion in shoes, and the absence from the table of knives, forks, and plates.

five o'clock, the family went to bed. Artificial light was meagre and dear, and men's occupations were generally completed by the light of day. Soap was so dear that the common people could not get it. In the average nousehold there were still no forks or plates, though persons of rank sometimes used both.

Health.—The health of England undoubtedly improved during this age, yet the country was rarely free from

pestilence, and the rate of mortality was high. The span of life was much shorter than at present; as few people lived to be forty in those days as now live to be seventy. On the other hand, it is a noteworthy fact that, by this time, leprosy, which is caused by unclean habits, had almost disappeared from England. After 1464, epidemics, such as the Black Death (p. 122), no more desolate the whole country, but are confined to the towns. In 1485 a new malady known as the "Sweating Sickness" appeared, said to have been brought to England by the rabble army that won the victory of Bosworth Field. Though singularly fatal, it attacked mainly the well-to-do classes, who were given to high living, and fell far short of the devastating character of the Black Death. Medical knowledge had as yet made little advance. The stars and the moon were thought to have more to do with healing than careful treatment of the disease.

The use of English.—During the Middle Ages the English language was the tongue of the common people, but French was that of the polite world, used, not merely in society, but also in the law courts and in Parliament. As early as 1365, however, it had been ordered that the proceedings of the law courts, hitherto in French, should be in English. Parliament, too, was opened with an English speech (p. 127). Yet, for a long time, the debates were continued in French and the Acts of Parliament were drawn up in that language; not until 1484 were they drawn up in English. Of this tongue there were three principal dialects, the Northern, the Midland, and the Southern. The chief commercial centre, London, and the two great universities, Oxford and Cambridge, used the same dialect of English—the Midland—and their influence, strengthened by that of Chaucer, who wrote in this dialect, made it, in time, the standard English speech. Yet men of letters were long uncertain whether to use English at all. John Gower, a dull poet of the age of Chaucer, wrote in three languages, Latin, French, and English, and during the two hundred years between Chaucer and Shakespeare a writer in England

was as likely to use Latin as English. It was the combined weight of these two mighty literary names that first gave English the rank of a classic tongue.

The invention of printing.—The greatest achievement of the fifteenth century was the invention of printing. The first English printer was Caxton. He did not invent the art of printing from movable types—that honour is claimed for two German rivals, Gutenberg and Coster—but he lived some thirty years on the continent, where he learned printing, and, returning home, he issued, in 1477, the first book printed in England. The labour of Caxton in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, setting his own types and himself translating into English not less than twenty-one of the eighty books that he printed, is of much moment to English civilization. The appearance of the printed book had deep significance. It made men partly independent of the living voice, and, in time, placed the best efforts of the human mind within the reach of every one.

TOPICS

I. Why were the nobles lawless? What forces lessened the importance of the knight in armour?

II. Describe the mode of detecting crime in a mediæval village. What effect had bad roads upon commerce?

III. What caused the increased importance of the English town? Did the guilds exercise a good effect?

IV. Compare "Perpendicular" with the earlier architecture. Why did epidemics decline? What is the importance of the invention of printing?

CHAPTER IX

THE TUDOR MONARCHY

1. THE RESTORATION OF ORDER BY HENRY VII

Henry VII, 1485-1509.—The victor at Bosworth, Henry VII, though only twenty-eight, was already old in experience. A fugitive since childhood in foreign lands, or a captive in his own, he had learned caution, and now he faced, with great skill and tact, the heavy task of reducing a troubled realm to order. He must end the danger of renewed civil war, and show great nobles that he was master, and, to do this, he must have behind him the support of the common people. These wished a strong king, for only under firm rule could they be sure of peace and quiet. Throughout his reign Henry found that the masses were with him. Yet they never really loved him. He was pleasant and courtly in manners, religious, scholarly, sometimes mildly humorous, but he could not be jovial and hearty, like bluff, handsome Edward IV, and he was so prudent and saving that he came to be looked upon as a miser.



HENRY VII

The dangers of Henry VII.—Henry married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, and in their son, afterwards Henry VIII, were united, at last, the claims of the rival houses. Some of the Yorkists would not accept this union as settling the old dispute, and, for a dozen years, Henry was sorely troubled by their attacks. Two impostors, first

Lambert Simnel, who called himself the son of Clarence, and then Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be the younger brother of Edward V were put forward by the Yorkists as claimants for the throne. The English people, however, showed that they would not tolerate civil war. All attacks failed, and, in the end, Henry VII made his position secure. He watched the baronial class closely. He gave high office not to the old nobility, but to new men of the middle class. A good many of the noble families lost their lands, either by forfeiture or by incurring ruinous fines for plotting against the king; and sometimes their estates were bought by merchants and traders, classes which were becoming steadily more important in England.

Livery and Maintenance.—The great nobles had been accustomed to keep about them hordes of retainers, who



ELIZABETH OF YORK, QUEEN OF
HENRY VII (1465-1503)

wore the livery, or uniform, of their lord and were ready to fight for him in any tumult. He, in turn, was pledged to maintain their cause when they took action against others, or were themselves assailed, either by open force, or in the law courts. Such retainers formed an armed body likely, in their own or in their lord's interest, to set the laws at defiance.

Previous rulers had tried to check these evils, but it was Henry who succeeded. In 1487 he passed the Statute of Livery and Maintenance which imposed heavy penalties on those who kept up bands of retainers.

The Court of Star Chamber.—Henry's merit was that he enforced the laws. He formed a committee of his council into a new court which came ultimately to be known as the Star Chamber. Its chief business was to try powerful offenders. Henry sent few victims to the scaffold, but he made those who broke the law pay fines so heavy as, in

some cases, to be ruinous. Two lawyers, Dudley and Empson, hunted down law-breakers with great skill, and the king reaped enormous profits from the fines imposed. Sometimes Henry himself acted as informer. He visited the Earl of Oxford, an old and tried friend who had fought for him at Bosworth, and on leaving the castle found two long lines of men in livery drawn up to do him honour. When he expressed wonder that Oxford should need so many domestic servants, his host told him that the men in his uniform were not servants but retainers, who had been summoned for this service. The king's answer was that he could not permit the law thus to be violated, and it is said that Oxford was fined the enormous sum of 15,000 marks, quite equal to £100,000 at the present day.

2. RELATIONS OF HENRY VII WITH IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

The despotic rule of Henry.—Henry was really a despot. No doubt, the belief that Parliament alone might make laws and vote taxes was deeply rooted in the life of the English. But, for the time, Parliament had little influence. Henry called it only seven times in his long reign of twenty-four years, and, since he summoned it only to impose new burdens in taxes, the nation was glad that it should meet rarely. Henry worked hard as a ruler, piled up vast wealth, kept free from foreign war, and tried to make his position stronger still by wise alliances.

The Stuart line in Scotland.—With her neighbour Scotland, England had been at strife for centuries. The northern kingdom had had a troubled history. There was a profound division of race between the Celtic clans of the Highlands and the Teutons, who had mastered the Lowlands, as they mastered England. The country, too, was divided by mountains and arms of the sea, so that the separate clans and the great landholders were able to maintain a proud independence, and often defied and warred on the king. Those who held high offices of state handed them down to their heirs ;

thus the hereditary stewards became, in the end, the royal Stuart line (p. 143). The first two Stuarts, Robert II (1370-1390) and Robert III (1390-1406), were not strong kings. It is a striking fact that every one of their successors, for more than two hundred years, became sovereign when still a child,* and this condition lasted until Charles I inherited the throne in 1625. The result was that the turbulent nobles were continually struggling for mastery. In foreign affairs Scotland was led by France, and warred on England when France did. The country was very backward. Not until 1411,



MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND,
DAUGHTER OF HENRY VII (1489-1541)

more than two hundred years after the founding of Oxford, was the first Scottish university, that of St. Andrews, established. The Highlanders were still half barbarous, while the border region adjoining England was swept incessantly by cruel border wars.

Union of the Tudor and Stuart lines.—The Yorkist enemies of Henry VII had found in James IV of Scotland a steadfast friend. When Ferkin Warbeck pretended to be the son of Edward IV, James welcomed him and gave him in marriage a woman of rank, Lady Catherine Gordon. Happy relations between the two

*THE STUART KINGS OF SCOTLAND TO JAMES VI

Robert II.....	b. 1316	—	reign	1370-1390
Robert III.....	b. 1340?	—	..	1390-1406
James I.....	b. 1394	—	..	1406-1437
James II.....	b. 1430	—	..	1437-1460
James III.....	b. 1451	—	..	1460-1488
James IV.....	b. 1473	—	..	1488-1513
James V.....	b. 1512	—	..	1513-1542
Mary, Queen of Scots...b.	1542	—	..	1542-1567
James VI (I of England) b.	1566	—	..	1567-1625

countries seemed still far away. Yet their foundation was now being laid. Henry's far-seeing tact brought about a union of the Tudor and the Stuart houses in marriage. In 1503, his daughter Margaret married James IV of Scotland; and it was through her that the Scottish royal line, the Stuarts, came, in time, to rule England. When the marriage was planned, Henry was asked if there was not a danger that England might become an appendage of the Scottish crown. "No," said the sage king, "Scotland will become an appendage of the English crown, for the smaller must follow the larger kingdom."

Poynings' Law, 1494.—In regard to Ireland, Henry's aim was to make his control real. The native Irish had never accepted English rulers, and even the English colony (p. 124) was restive, for the Yorkists had been active in Ireland, and had made it one of their strongholds. The impostors who attacked Henry VII always found an eager welcome there, and Henry saw that he must do something to make his authority secure. He sent over, therefore, an able governor, Sir Edward Poynings. Poynings was a brilliant soldier, who promptly checked the Yorkist element and made a beginning in the conquest of the native Irish outside the Pale. He is chiefly famous because, in 1494, he effected the enactment of a measure, known ever since as Poynings' Law, which limited the power of the English colony in Ireland, and made defiance of England henceforth impossible. It required that all existing laws in force in England should have force in Ireland; moreover, the Irish Parliament might pass no law not first approved by the king's council in England. Poynings' Law robbed Ireland of even the shadowy independence that the people of the Pale had once enjoyed. Less than ever could she pursue her own natural development.

3. THE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND

When Henry VII died, in 1509, England was vastly different from the turbulent realm of Edward IV. The Middle

Ages had ended, and we find an awakening of thought which is still vital in our modern life. So striking is this change in spirit that we call this great movement the Renaissance, the new birth. Men threw off old restraints and faced new tasks. The great work of the Middle Ages had been to train under the civilizing influence of the Christian faith the barbarian peoples who had broken up the Roman Empire. It was a rough task. In performing it the church had insisted that ready obedience to her teaching was the only safe guide. In that age of faith, great cathedrals, vast monasteries, thousands of beautiful churches, were reared, and we wonder still at the zeal which created them. But the time came when this zeal seemed to have exhausted itself. Men began to debate new problems, to think and to judge for themselves more freely, to take less interest in merely religious questions, to inquire into the past, to travel, reason, dispute, write. The age of tutelage had passed; Europe was now to show that its thinkers had arrived at a manhood which was sometimes rebellious against old modes of thought.

The Humanist movement.—The Renaissance was a long, slow movement. We find its influence as early as the thirteenth century. One of its first fruits was the revived interest in ancient Greece and Rome, whose treasures of art and letters Europe had half-forgotten. During the Middle Ages, the Greek language, with its noble literature, was little more than a memory in Western Europe. For a long time it seemed as if some barrier separated the East from the West; but, by the year 1400, there were Italian scholars keenly engaged in studying the literature of ancient Greece. A little later, in 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople, the old Greek capital of the East, some of its scholars found refuge in the West, where they aided the growing zeal for the study of antiquity. The movement began in Italy, but soon extended farther. In the days when Henry VII was subduing the turbulence of the English nobles, English scholars were going to Italy to sit there at the feet of men who taught them the Greek

tongue, kindled their zeal for the new liberty of the mind, and sent them back to England to preach what they had learned. The church teachers we know as divines, because they dealt with the things of God; these new teachers dealt as well with human affairs and human nature and we call them humanists. All that concerned man appealed to them; this eager humanism marks a new stage in man's study of himself.

The discovery of America.—The new movement led to the discovery not merely of an ancient world, but of a new one. As yet Europe hardly knew what lay beyond its own borders. No one could tell what might be found, should a ship sail far westward into the Atlantic. It was known that a mysterious sea washed the remote coast of Asia, and, in the end, those who had studied the question most carefully reached the firm conclusion that in Europe they looked out upon this same body of water. Should this be true, ships might cross from Europe to Asia and a great trade might grow up. Yet it needed heroic courage to venture out into the Atlantic for many long days in the hope of reaching Japan or China. The bold sailor who at last did so was Christopher Columbus, from Genoa. In 1492, he persuaded Isabella of Spain to furnish him with three small ships for the enterprise. The unexpected happened. Columbus did not reach Asia, but he found regions, hitherto undreamed of, which we know as America, barring his route to the East. He never understood the nature of his achievement, but his discovery was to open two vast continents to the enterprise of Europeans.

The new route to the East.—England took her part in this work of discovery. The accounts of Henry VII for the year 1497 have an entry of the sum of £10 paid to a Venetian, John Cabot, who, sailing from Bristol in an English ship, five years after the first voyage of Columbus, had reached land in the distant west and had raised there the flag of England. Thus began those claims of England from which have resulted the English-speaking North America of to-day. About the same time, in 1498, Vasco

da Gama, a Portuguese, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, reached India by sea, and opened still another world to the energies of Europe. During the Middle Ages the Turks had not only seized Jerusalem (p. 83) but had occupied the overland routes between Europe and Asia, and had interfered with trade as they liked. After the route by sea was found, a long and dangerous overland journey was no longer necessary to reach the coasts of Asia. Ships from Europe sailed directly to ports in India and other countries in the far East, and the time was to come when the maritime enterprise of the English was to build up their mighty empire of India in the East.

Henry VIII, 1509-1547, and the Humanists.—When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509, he seemed designed by nature to lead the great movements of his time. He was young, handsome, full of strength and energy. He had remarkable qualities of mind. No one shared more keenly than he the new tastes of the Renaissance. He was fond of art, a good musician, and a real man of letters, with some insight and vigour as a writer. The Humanists looked upon Henry as one of themselves. The greatest scholar of the time was the Dutchman, Erasmus. On Henry's accession,

he hurried to England to have a share in the glorious era which seemed now to be dawning there. Conspicuous among the English Humanists was John Colet (1467-1519), the son of a rich London merchant. Having studied in Italy, he returned to Oxford in 1496, and there, for eight years, lectured on the Greek text of the New Testament. Men had long known only Latin translations of the Bible, and had almost forgotten that Greek



HENRY VIII AS A YOUNG MAN

was the tongue in which St. Paul wrote. Colet taught them to think of him as a real man like themselves, and not

as a being without human passions. When he inherited a large fortune, he used it to found the great St. Paul's School, which still endures. Here he hoped pure religion and sound learning would go hand in hand. Colet and Erasmus had a friend in the rising young English lawyer, Thomas More, whose learning and beauty of character made him the most delightful of companions.

All three were thinking deeply on the questions of the times, and their heads were full of plans for reforming the world. More wrote a book, "Utopia" in which he described a golden age for suffering mankind, when all should work and none over-work, when want should be no more, thought should be free, and government mild and just. Erasmus hoped to see the church inspired with a new zeal for her tasks; Colet to educate a generation that should hate shams and live nobly for God's truth. The reality was to bring disillusion. Colet died, in 1519, soon after his great school began, Erasmus lived to see the church torn by a fearful schism, and More perished on the scaffold. The changes of which they had dreamed were destined to bring not peace but a sword.

The warlike ambitions of Henry VIII.—The learned young king proved to be headstrong, ambitious, ruthless. He was very rich, as a result of the extortions of Empson and Dudley. Now that their protector, Henry VII, was gone, great clamour arose against these men. Henry yielded to it and had them tried and executed in 1510. But he gave up none of the wealth which they had gathered. Colet and his friends soon found that Henry was not the man they had hoped for. Instead of busying himself with wise plans for the welfare of his people, he was thinking of his own glory, and resolved to be the greatest monarch of his time. The old nobility were under his feet, and the middle class, with bitter memories still of the bad days of civil war, looked to the king as the one guardian of law and order. Little wonder that Henry came to regard himself as almost divine. Even other kings, he said, dared not look him in the face. He would make himself the arbiter of

Europe. He would renew the warlike glories of Edward III and Henry V, conquer France, and be crowned at Paris.

Battle of Flodden, 1513.—Accordingly, to the sorrow of men like Erasmus, Henry spent his father's treasure on war. With vast pomp and display he led an army to France, and in 1513, won what was called the "Battle of the Spurs," because the French ran away so quickly. This success, though proclaimed as a mighty victory, achieved very little; but the same year witnessed another victory which was really momentous. As of old, Scotland had joined France against the common enemy. Henry's brother-in-law, James IV, ordered him in arrogant terms not to attack France, and prepared for war. Henry's general, the Earl of Surrey, now in his seventieth year, marched to meet James. The Scots invaded England, and a decisive battle took place on a ridge of the Cheviots in Northumberland, known as Flodden. By a skilful move, Surrey placed a part of his force so as to cut off James from Scotland. The king was surrounded, and perished, like Harold at Hastings, with all the Scottish leaders about him; there was no family of importance which did not lose some member. Thus Flodden was a great national disaster to Scotland, the most tragic perhaps in all her annals. Not for a century did she recover from so terrible a blow.

4. THE CAREER OF WOLSEY

The power of Wolsey.—Owing to his fondness for pleasure, Henry had no mind to busy himself, as his father had done, with the details of government, and, for the first half of his reign, he laid this burden upon Thomas Wolsey who, in 1515, became a cardinal. There was nothing unusual in this elevation of a churchman to secular authority for, in those days, priests often took a leading part in affairs of state. Wolsey belonged by birth to the middle classes. His alertness and capacity for business show that he was perhaps the ablest man of his day, and Henry placed in

his hands the whole business of government. It was Wolsey who carried on Henry's tortuous negotiations with other states in Europe; it was Wolsey who had to find for Henry the money that he needed; and it was Wolsey who, though a priest, planned his elaborate campaigns. Wolsey, therefore, became very powerful. He had vast revenues, including those of four or five bishoprics, and lived in state little less than regal. So high did his ambition soar that he aimed to become Pope and to carry out great reforms in the church. His was a large and liberal mind. He was tolerant in his opinions, the friend of the poor, the friend, too, of education. The world thought he ruled Henry, but the world was wrong. Henry always insisted on having his own way, and Wolsey himself tells us that, even when he had entreated the king for an hour on his knees, he had never induced him to change his resolution.



THOMAS WOLSEY
CARDINAL (1475?-1530)

Relations of Henry with France and Spain.—Two great monarchs now struggled for leadership on the continent. The emperor Charles V, a mighty sovereign, ruled Spain, the Low Countries, Austria, and other realms in Europe, besides great dominions in America. Francis I of France was his keen rival. Henry thought that, by holding the balance of power between them, he himself should reach a position of unparalleled glory. His people, warlike as in the old days, were proud of a king who planned to make England greater than her neighbours. We find Henry the friend now of Charles, now of Francis. After he has met Francis, in 1520, with costly and, as we should think,

vulgar, pomp, on the so-called "Field of the Cloth of Gold," in France, he welcomes Charles V in England. These rulers, anxious to gain Wolsey's support, treated him almost as a sovereign.

Wolsey's pressure upon Parliament.—All this busy in-



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V (1500-1558)

trigue and parade proved costly, and, in the long run, Henry's part came out of the pockets of the English people. Docile as parliament had learned to be, Wolsey yet found it stubborn when he demanded money. In 1523, he summoned it for the first time in seven years. The members knew that they were now called only to grant money, and when Wolsey asked for a vast sum, £800,000, equal to quite £10,000,000 in our day, the Speaker of the House of Com-

mons, the brilliant Thomas More, stoutly resisted the demand. Wolsey went down in person and tried to browbeat the House, but in vain, and he was obliged to take much less than he had demanded. More money was necessary, and he therefore turned to demand an "Amicable Loan" from the well-to-do classes. They knew that, while a loan in name, it would never be repaid. Yet they dared not resist. When Wolsey threatened that heads should fall if the king did not get the money he required, they yielded, but they conceived a bitter hatred for the

cardinal. The king, jovial and pleasure-loving, as he seemed, took care that the blame should fall on his minister.

Henry's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, 1509.—Wolsey's business was to do his master's will. When he ceased to do it he fell. It came about that Henry made up his mind to get rid of his wife in order to marry another woman, and it was this resolve which ruined Wolsey. Henry VII, looking round for a profitable alliance in Europe had succeeded in marrying his eldest son, Arthur, a boy of fifteen, to Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. After a few months, Arthur died in 1502. The question then arose, should his young widow go back to live in Spain? If she did, Henry VII would lose her heavy marriage portion, part of which had already been paid to him. It was, therefore, arranged that Catherine should remain in England, and, in due course, marry the young Prince Henry, now heir to the throne. Since a marriage with a husband's brother was against the law of the church, it was necessary to secure special permission from the Pope. This was given. The proposed bridegroom was still only a boy, and, not until 1509, when he had become king Henry VIII, and was eighteen years old, did the marriage take place.

Henry's resolve to put away Catherine, 1527.—The union seemed happy enough. Catherine was a good woman, devoted to her husband. She bore him two sons, but both died in infancy, and their only surviving child was a daughter, Mary. Not to have a son was a great disappointment to Henry. In himself, as the heir of both lines, he united the claims of Lancaster and York, but, to make the Tudor line secure, a son was necessary; a



CATHERINE OF ARAGON (1485-1536)

daughter would not do, for as yet no woman had ruled in England. Henry saw that, if he himself should die without a male heir, there was likely to be civil war between rival claimants. From the first, it had been said that, because Catherine was his brother's wife, Henry's marriage was invalid, and that even the Pope had no right to permit it. Catherine, five years older than Henry, was a plain, austere woman. His was a fickle nature and at length he tired of her. For two reasons he wished a divorce; he longed for an heir to the throne, and, by 1522, he was in love with another woman, a sprightly lady of the court, Anne Boleyn. To a man of Henry's temper the getting rid of Catherine seemed simple enough. By 1527, he had decided that the Pope must declare that his marriage was invalid.

Had Catherine yielded, the affair might have been arranged. But yield she would not; she was, she said, Henry's lawful wife, and from that position she would not budge. She had powerful support. The emperor Charles V, the greatest potentate of the time, was her nephew. He took the side of the injured woman, partly, it seems, through real chivalry, partly because Henry, if free to marry again, might make an alliance with the emperor's enemy, France. The Pope knew how serious strife with Charles might prove, for Charles's troops had taken and sacked Rome, in 1527, with unspeakable horrors. What could Clement do with two great rulers pulling him in opposite directions? He tried to avoid a quarrel with either side, negotiated, delayed. But one, at least, of those urging him expected always to have his own way, and would not be checked. When Henry saw that Clement had determined not to meet his views, he made up his mind to do what he wished, none the less.

Luther's attack on the church, 1517.—In an earlier age, Henry's conflict with the Pope might have had the same result as John's ill-judged defiance (p. 86). But times had changed; a mighty religious revolution was under way in Europe. In 1517, Martin Luther, a German monk, began to attack the teaching of the church. Luther laid

down the far-reaching principle that man is fully justified before God by faith in Christ, that his salvation is complete the moment he believes, and is in no way dependent upon the ministrations of a priest. It was soon clear that a great part of Germany agreed with Luther. Other countries were affected, and before long most of the states of northern Europe had broken away from Rome. Revolt was in the air and this condition of affairs encouraged Henry in his purpose. He had no belief in the teaching of Luther. He was wholly devoted to the old doctrines. But he saw that others had defied the church, and he felt himself strong enough to do so too.

Wolsey fails to secure the divorce, 1528.—Wolsey was the Pope's representative in England, his legate or ambassador, and Henry instructed Wolsey to get the matter of the divorce arranged. It was easier said than done. Wolsey wished to do it, for he was in sympathy with the changing spirit of the time, and was a layman rather than a priest in his outlook. He had seized decayed monasteries, and used their lands to begin a great school at Ipswich and a great college, to be called Cardinal College, at Oxford. He had talked plainly to the Pope more than once, and had told him that the church in England might be driven to reject his authority. But now Clement VII would not, could not, yield. True, he let Wolsey and a second cardinal, Campeggio, hear Henry's case in open court in England in 1528, but, when Henry looked for the verdict he desired, Wolsey had to tell him that the Pope reserved judgment to himself, and that he and his fellow-cardinal could do nothing. All this made Henry angry and impatient. Anne Boleyn continually urged that the delay was due to Wolsey, and, at last, Henry turned in anger on the man who, for nearly twenty years, had given him zealous service.

The fall of Wolsey, 1529.—The first move was to attack Wolsey's possessions. He was charged, in 1529, with having supported in England a foreign jurisdiction, that of the Pope, and, under the old law of *Præmunire* (p. 128), the penalty for this offence was the forfeiture of all his

possessions and further punishment at the king's pleasure. It mattered not that Henry himself, like Wolsey, had appealed to the Pope. The king greedily seized the cardinal's property. He even took for himself the money which Wolsey had set aside for his school at Ipswich, and turned Wolsey's Cardinal College at Oxford into a royal foundation, to be known henceforth as Christ Church. He stripped Wolsey of every office but that of Archbishop of York, to which place the fallen cardinal retired. But, fallen though he was, vengeful enemies pursued him. The old nobility hated the upstart, the Duke of Norfolk going so far as to say that he could tear him with his teeth. Soon Wolsey received a summons to London to answer a charge of high treason. That the block awaited him we can hardly doubt; Henry's instinct was to destroy servants whom he could no longer use. But a kinder fate saved Wolsey from the king. Worn out by his cares, he died, in 1530, at Leicester Abbey, on his journey southward.

5. THE CHURCH POLICY OF HENRY VIII

Henry charges the clergy with *Præmunire*, 1531.—In destroying Wolsey, Henry learned his own power. He knew now that he might do what he liked, and that no one could check him. Yet he moved cautiously. He named as Lord Chancellor, in succession to Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, thinking to use that man of spotless character to further his plans. The next thing was to get public support in Europe for his policy. It now came to Henry's ears that a scholarly clergyman, Thomas Cranmer, had suggested that the universities of Europe would be the best judges of questions of church law, and that they should be asked their opinion on the validity of the king's marriage. Henry caught at this idea, and asked the universities for their opinion. It is to be feared that these learned bodies were influenced by the large sums of money which Henry spent. At any rate, most of them agreed that such a

marriage could never have been legal. Cranmer carried their opinions to Rome and laid them before the Pope. Henry's next step was to force obedience from his own clergy. In 1531, he charged them, too, with *Premunire* for accepting Wolsey as the Pope's legate and made them pay an enormous fine of £118,000, equal now to more than £1,000,000. They were finally pardoned in 1532 only when they acknowledged that Henry was supreme head of the church of England, and as such had full authority over them.

The rise of Thomas Cromwell.—By this time, Henry had found a minister as pitiless as himself, and ready to turn his energies against the Pope. Thomas Cromwell, a man, half lawyer, half money-lender, had spent part of his early wandering life in Italy, where he seems to have developed a great hatred of the papacy. Wolsey had made this able, bold, strong man his secretary, and put him in charge of his legal affairs. He secured a seat in the House of Commons, and, at the time of Wolsey's fall, showed gratitude to his former master and had the courage openly to defend him. Henry VIII, seeing that Cromwell would be useful, employed him, and Cromwell was soon urging the king to defy the Pope completely, make himself head of the church in England, and thus add to his own power as king all the powers which had formerly belonged to the church.



THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF
ESSEX (1483?-1540)

Henry's mastery of Parliament.—Having gone so far, Henry was prepared to follow bold counsels. He had nothing to fear from the nobility in the House of Lords. Their old spirit of independence was gone, and they were abjectly ready to do what the king desired. The Commons also he easily mastered. Henry was careful to preserve legal forms, but no constituency dared to reject the member whom he nom-

inated, and he thus had the election of members under his own control. He took good care now to have a House which would obey him. In 1529, what is known as the Seven Years' Parliament came together. Hitherto a new election had taken place after each session, but now, having taken the trouble to get the right kind of Parliament, Henry kept it for years. During its long term, it proved ready to do whatever he wished. The lawyers and county gentlemen who composed it were rather glad to humble the clergy, and professed boundless devotion to the king. They seemed to hold him, indeed, as half divine. Whenever his name was mentioned in the House they bowed in deep reverence.

Cranmer nullifies the marriage with Catherine.—Henry could now look for support even to the head of the clergy. The old Archbishop of Canterbury, the learned, courtly, stately Warham, would not have lent himself to Henry's plans, but, when he died in 1533, Henry named Cranmer to the vacant see, and the Pope, still wishing for peace, confirmed the nomination. Cranmer



THOMAS CRANMER,
ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY
1489-1533

was a good but weak man, and Henry knew perfectly well that he could make him do what he wished. Everything was now ready for the final defiance of Rome. Already Henry had married Anne Boleyn in private, but, in May, 1533, Cranmer declared publicly that the marriage with Catherine was null and void from the beginning, and that Anne Boleyn was Henry's lawful wife. On June 1st, 1533, she was crowned queen of England. The Pope promptly declared that Cranmer's decision was of no effect. But the die was now cast. The king of England and the chief bishop of the church of England openly defied the Pope. Henry appealed against him to a future general council. Meanwhile, he took to himself by

various Acts of Parliament, the authority over the church which the Pope had previously exercised.

The Succession Act, and the Act of Supremacy, 1534.—Such was the break with the Roman Catholic church. No point of doctrine was raised. The question was whether Henry VIII would bow to the Pope's authority, and Henry was fully resolved that neither he nor England should do so. Already, in 1532, the devout Sir Thomas More, seeing what was coming, had resigned the office of chancellor, and retired into private life. Henry VIII was resolved, however, that all England should move with him. In 1534, he caused Parliament to pass an Act of Succession declaring that the marriage with Catherine had always been invalid, and that only his children by Anne should have the right to the throne. It was provided, moreover, that any one might be called on to declare on oath his acceptance of all that the Act involved; to refuse to take the oath would be treason punishable by death. This Succession Act was followed in 1534 by the Act of Supremacy, which declared Henry to be "on earth the supreme head of the church of England," and completely abolished the authority of the Pope in that country. Any one refusing to accept this Act was also to die as a traitor.

The execution of Sir Thomas More, 1535.—Henry was now resolved to force obedience on every one, and, with Cromwell at his side, he went to dreadful lengths. The London



SIR THOMAS MORE (1478-1535)

Charterhouse, probably the best-ordered monastery in England, had as prior, or head, John Houghton, a highly cultivated and devout man. He and two other priors of the Carthusian order would not make oath that they believed the

marriage with Catherine invalid from the first. They were tried in 1535, condemned for treason, and hanged in their habits, as a terrible warning to other ecclesiastics. Never before had a priest been executed without first being degraded from his sacred office. Henry's next act was even more shocking than this. Sir Thomas More had a reputation that extended throughout Europe. Henry had made him a special friend and had taken great delight in his wit. But Henry was now resolved that the great should obey his will and thus set an example to those of lesser rank. More was summoned to take the oath and told that he must obey or die. He chose to die. He was ready to accept the decree of Parliament that Anne Boleyn's children should succeed to the throne; for this, he said, was well within the authority of Parliament. But he would not swear that he believed the marriage with Catherine no true marriage. A trial, which was really a farce, followed, and More was sentenced to death. His afflicted family begged him to yield, but he would not, and he faced the end with simple and impressive cheerfulness. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, an old man, the friend of Henry's father, took the same stand as More, and like him went to the block. Henry knew no pity for class or sex. Laymen, priests, women, all alike were condemned to death if they would not bend to his will.

The Six Articles, 1539.—After the long fight, Henry stood forth with the powers of the Pope added to his old powers as king. He was head of the church. Dues formerly paid to the Pope now went to him. He named the bishops, and woe to the clergy if they ventured to protest against those whom he named. Though he had no thought of breaking away from the old doctrines, he paved the way for change when he allowed the reading of the Bible. Wycliffe's Bible had long been out of date. William Tyndale now translated into fresh and vigorous English the New Testament and part of the Old, and, in 1536, Henry authorized Miles Ceverdale to issue his complete translation of the Bible which was based on the work of Tyndale. This Bible, an expensive book, costing, in present values, some £6, was put

in the churches, where the people might read it. But Henry did not intend that the people should interpret its teaching for themselves. He was still resolved that they should hold the old doctrines, though without any obedience to the Pope. In the end, he caused Parliament to pass, in 1539, "An Act abolishing Diversity of Opinions." It named Six Articles of Faith, the chief of them, transubstantiation, which must be held by all Henry's subjects. To deny any of these articles was to incur the death penalty.

The dissolution of the lesser monasteries, 1536; the greater, 1539.—It was inevitable that Henry should lay hands on the property of the church. He was always greedy for money. Cromwell had promised that he should be the richest prince in Christendom, and the wealth was to come from the church. A large part of the land of England belonged to the monasteries, and vast treasure of gold and precious jewels was stored up at famous shrines, like that of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Henry resolved to seize this wealth. No doubt some of the monks were idle and useless, and deserved to lose their property; though it is equally certain that many were devoted to their work of prayer and almsgiving. All the monasteries alike were, however, doomed. In 1535, Cromwell sent out agents to visit them, and these agents brought back the kind of reports that their master desired. Everywhere they had found vice and idleness; the monasteries were useless and the monks depraved. Accordingly, in 1536, Parliament passed an Act granting the smaller monasteries to the king. Under pressure, some of the larger ones also soon handed over their property, and, in 1539, all that remained were suppressed. Hundreds of monks and nuns were made homeless. The spoilers ransacked tombs, scattered valuable libraries to the winds, and wrecked buildings. Majestic ruins, beautiful in their decay, are evidence still of the desolation which swept from one end of England to the other. Cromwell, like his master, knew no pity. Abbots who had sat with the greatest of England in the House of Lords were sent to their death by this stern, hard man,

IN THE TIME OF
HENRY VIII



The immense number of the monasteries suggests the extent of the social upheaval caused by their dissolution.

because they did not lend themselves readily to his plans.

The granting away of abbey lands.—The annual value of the lands which Henry seized was equal to quite £1,500,000 now. Besides, there was vast spoil of jewels and gold from the various shrines. The lands were scattered prodigally. Cromwell himself took the great estates of the Abbey of Lewes, and much besides. The Duke of Suffolk secured thirty religious foundations, the Dudleys eighteen, Lord Clinton twelve, Lord Audley nine. New men, rich now with the church lands, were able to found families, some of which, the Russells and Cavendishes, for instance, are still conspicuous. Henry even made some of the old land-owners take abbey property, in exchange for their own, that they might have selfish reasons to resist future attempts at restoration; it is said that forty thousand families were soon holding abbey lands.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.—All this ruin greatly disturbed the social order. Some monasteries had helped the poor. Above all they had educated the young. Hospitals which had sheltered the weak, the aged, and the destitute, were destroyed, and sick and blind were turned out of doors. Such waste and suffering caused great discontent, and, in the autumn of 1536, it seemed as if Henry had gone too far. Outbreaks began in Lincolnshire. Then came a formidable demand from the north that the monasteries should be restored, base-born counsellors, like Cromwell, dismissed, and heretic bishops, like Cranmer, deposed and punished. The Archbishop of York and hundreds of the clergy joined the rebels, who planned a march to London on a so-called Pilgrimage of Grace, to seek, as devout pilgrims, redress from the king. Henry met Robert Aske, the rebel leader, and gave smooth pledges to effect reforms and to pardon the rebels. When, however, the hostile forces melted away before his promises, his tone changed, and he inflicted a terrible revenge on the regions most affected. Not only were Aske and other leaders executed; hundreds of peasants were hanged on trees or gibbets as a warning to all who should oppose the king.

The Execution of Anne Boleyn, 1536.—Henry, selfish and fickle, soon wearied of Anne Boleyn, who was pretty, but also shallow and frivolous. She bore him a daughter, Elizabeth, but not the son for whom he had hoped. In 1536, Henry had received, with every sign of joy, news of the death of Catherine of Aragon, and he now saw that, were Anne out of the way, he could make a marriage which no one could question. A son born of such a marriage would then have an indisputable title to the crown. Anne had many enemies. Court gossips were busy, and suddenly, in 1536, she was accused of outrageous misconduct. It may be that she was really guilty; at all events Henry showed no scruple in pressing evidence against her, and it was soon clear that he intended to destroy her. Europe had been shocked when Henry executed More; now, when he beheaded his own queen, he was thought to be a monster indeed. On the day of Anne Boleyn's execution, he went merrily to the hunt, and ten days later he married Jane Seymour. She died in the following year, 1537, after giving birth to the long-desired heir who was later to be Edward VI.

The execution of Cromwell, 1540.—Cromwell thought it would widen the breach with the Roman Catholic church if the king married a German Protestant, and he pictured the Princess Anne of Cleves to Henry as a lady of many attractions. When she arrived in England Henry found her dull in mind and unattractive in appearance. Within a few months, in 1540, at the king's command, the pliant Cranmer pronounced the marriage invalid. Cromwell, just created Earl of Essex, had now done what was unpardonable; he had made Henry a little ridiculous in this fourth marriage, and, as usual with his rejected tools, Henry was resolved to have his life. Henry took some time to debate with himself whether he should behead Cromwell for treason or burn him for heresy; for Cromwell seems to have been sincere in holding Protestant views. At last Henry decided upon beheading. But Cromwell was not tried, for awkward things might have come out at a trial. A mode of dealing with

accused persons by Act of Parliament had long been known in England and had often been used in the stormy period of the Wars of the Roses. It consisted in simply passing an Act of Parliament, condemning the accused person to death and declaring his blood so corrupted, or attainted, that he could not hold property or transmit it to his heirs. Since Parliament was supreme, it could legislate away a man's life; and death, by such a Bill of Attainder, was the fate Henry caused the two houses to decree for Cromwell in 1540. Henry took a new wife, Catherine Howard, of the family of the Duke of Norfolk, the leader of the party opposed to Cromwell; but she was soon found guilty of gross immorality, and was executed in 1542. Henry's last matrimonial venture was more fortunate than he deserved. In 1543 he married a widow, Catherine Parr, a good and tactful woman, who survived him.

Defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss, 1542.—To the last Henry followed the futile dream of his boyhood that he should be a great conqueror. In 1544 he was campaigning in France. Because he had designs on France he was often at war with Scotland, for these two states stood together against England. Henry struck down two Scottish kings. In 1513 James IV had fallen at Flodden, and in 1542, when war was renewed, the Duke of Norfolk inflicted so disastrous a defeat upon the Scots at Solway Moss that the evil tidings killed King James V. A little girl, Mary, later to be that unhappy Queen of Scots whose life ended on the block, was left heiress to the Scottish throne. Henry made the Scots promise that she should marry, in due course, his own infant son, Edward, but it was destined that the marriage should never take place.

The Irish policy of Henry VIII.—Ireland was troublesome to Henry. The island had been untouched by the Renaissance movement; its people were attached to the Roman Catholic church, and believed profoundly in its teachings; in the less modern life of Ireland the monasteries had a useful place which they had lost in England. Yet, because Henry had broken with the Pope, Ireland was forced to break with him

too. Earlier English kings took only the title of "Lord" of Ireland, and it was said that they held Ireland from the Pope. To end this claim, Henry called himself by the supreme title of King of Ireland. In 1536, the Irish Parliament declared Henry to be the head also of the church. When relics and images were destroyed and monasteries devastated in England, the same things followed in Ireland,



HENRY VIII IN LATER LIFE

in spite of the affection and reverence of the Irish people for the old faith. It was easy enough to do all this within the English part of Ireland, the Pale (p. 125), but Henry went beyond the Pale. By force of arms he compelled the Irish tribes to submit to the new policy. He showed tact in dealing with the Irish leaders, and is the first English king who took pains to win their confidence. To some of them he gave lands taken from the Irish monasteries. He did not himself go to Ireland; no reigning English king had done this since Richard II. and no English king was to do it for still a century and a half. Henry hoped to Anglicize the Irish. He invited Irish chieftains over to England, conferred on some of them titles of nobility in the English style, and pleased them by his hearty manner and pleasant ways. But the wound remained. The church to which the Irish clung was, under him, humbled, pillaged, put down by law. In time the masses of England accepted such changes. The Irish never did; and the cleavage in religion between them and their neighbours remains to this day.

Improvement of the navy.—Though Henry was far from being a great, far-seeing ruler, he yet had a mighty influence on the history of England. He turned her religious energies into new channels, and by shattering the tie with the Roman see made it possible for his successor to be a Protestant.

By spending some of the plunder of the church in building ships he did much to make England a great naval power. The Italians were at that time the best ship-builders, and Henry imported Italian workmen to teach their skill to the English. He was the first English king to give the navy effective organization. He set aside a portion of his revenue each year for building and maintaining fighting ships. The crushing defeat of Spain on the sea under his daughter must be credited to Henry's policy.

Death of Henry VIII, 1547.—To the end, Henry was haunted by fears that rivals for the throne were plotting against him. As early as in 1521 he had beheaded the great Duke of Buckingham, who had talked incautiously about his own royal blood. More than one possible Yorkist claimant he executed; in 1541 he even sent to the block a woman, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, chiefly because she was the daughter of Edward IV's brother, Clarence. A few months before his own death, Henry seized the Earl of Surrey, an accomplished poet, and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, for supposed pretensions to the crown. Surrey was beheaded, but Henry died in 1547, on the day before Norfolk was to be executed, and this saved the duke's life.

TOPICS

I. Show what Henry VII did to restore public order in England.

II. Why were the nobles disorderly in Scotland and the Stuart line weak? Show the effect on Ireland of Poynings' Act.

III. The meaning of the term Renaissance. The effect of the Renaissance on the study of antiquity. The work of the humanists. The effect of the Renaissance in regard to discovery.

IV. What the humanists expected in Henry VIII, and why they were disappointed. Explain the ambitions of Wolsey and why he failed.

V. What part did Cranmer play in the break with the Roman Catholic church? Compare the causes, religious and political, of the executions of More and Cromwell. Criticise the description of Henry as "a despot under the forms of law."

CHAPTER X

THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

1. THE RELIGIOUS CHANGES UNDER EDWARD VI

Somerset, Protector, 1547-49.—According to the directions of Henry VIII, a Council of sixteen members was to rule the state while his young son, Edward VI, was a minor. Henry desired that England should be in religion neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, but should cling to the old doctrines, with the one change of rejecting the Pope's authority. It was perfectly clear, however, that not even Henry himself could, in the end, have carried out such a policy. England must be either Roman Catholic or Protestant. The new Council decided that it should be Protestant and it quickly gave to the Earl of Hertford, brother of Lady Jane Seymour and uncle of the young king, almost regal power as Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset.

Battle of Pinkie, 1547.—Somerset, a sincere, well-meaning man, had large plans. Not only would he lead England into the Protestant fold; he would unite England and Scotland, and thus bring the whole island under one sway. Henry VIII had already secured a promise that Mary, the young Queen of Scots, should marry his son Edward, and thus unite the two crowns (p. 196). But the Scots had cause to fear that so close a tie with England might mean their own subjection to a great neighbour, and now they renewed their alliance with France and refused consent to the marriage. To coerce the Scots, Somerset led an army to Scotland and inflicted on them a crushing defeat at Pinkie in 1547. This was the third great defeat of the Scots in less than forty years. Yet the victory was a

fruitless one. The young queen crossed to France, and there married the heir to the French throne, and the Scots assuredly treasured up no love for the land that carried on so violent a wooing.

Acts of Uniformity.—The plan to make England Protestant succeeded better. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, a famous preacher, now began openly to teach Protestant doctrine, while staunch Roman Catholics like Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were kept in prison. Cranmer, aided chiefly by Bishop Ridley, who took Bonner's place as Bishop of London, set himself the task of drawing up a new service book. He worked cautiously. In 1549, what is known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was ready. This book set forth the only form of public worship which was to be allowed, and Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity ordering its use everywhere. The book retained more mediæval usages than Protestant opinion favoured and, in 1552, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, thoroughly Protestant in tone, was made compulsory by a new Act of Uniformity.



EDWARD VI

Forty-two articles, issued in 1553, completed in England the Protestant system. This system differed from anything to be found elsewhere. Bishops and other dignitaries were retained. The changes were not in the forms of church government, but in the teaching which the church authorized. The mass became a communion service. Those who went to church found no longer a priest, robed in rich vestments, saying the prayers in the Latin tongue; they

saw instead a clergyman robed in a plain, white surplice, and using only the English language. Many priests now married. They were required either to preach sermons Protestant in tone, or to read to their people discourses of this type from a Book of Homilies issued by the church authorities.

The pillage of church property.—Henry VIII had plundered the monasteries but not the parish churches. Now



EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF
HERTFORD AND LATER
DUKE OF SOMERSET, PRO-
TECTOR (1506?-1552)

it was inevitable that these should be plundered also. In many of them was stored up great wealth in gold and silver vessels, jewelled crosses, rich vestments. These had no place in the new religious system, and they went as booty to the Protector and his Protestant friends. Fanatic rage was shown against some features of the old system. Hundreds of statues which decorated the churches were destroyed, because those now in authority thought that they ministered to idolatry. Beautiful stained glass, in which were blazoned figures of saints and angels, was ruined for the same reason, and the churches were left bare and desolate. Further revenues of the church were now seized. The piety of past ages had endowed what were known as "chantries" with funds for saying daily masses for the dead, keeping candles burning before the shrines of saints, and similar purposes. Many of the guilds (p. 171) were trustees of money to provide masses for the souls of their members. Such practices many now counted as superstitions, and some of these funds were used to found schools. Much of this wealth passed, however, into private hands. Somerset himself was not too scrupulous to take vast sums from the pillage of the church. There was truth in the charges of the Roman Catholics that religion meant less to their assailants than the love of gain.

Insurrections in 1549.—The new class which was growing rich often proved hard and grasping as landowners. In earlier times, the English peasant had farmed his own allotment (p. 133) and had been free to cut wood and to pasture his cows and his pigs on the common which the villagers had the right to use. But now, when wool brought a high price, the landowner kept his land in pasture. Sometimes he put a fence about the former common land of the village, that his sheep might run freely over its wide area. Since now he needed few helpers, he was free to pull down cottages that were in his way. Of course the people murmured, but their complaints were often treated with contempt. They were dissatisfied with the religious as well as with the social changes, and at last broke out in formidable revolt. In Devon and Cornwall the religious question was uppermost with the rebels, and they demanded that the old system should be restored. In Norfolk, the peasants, under Ket, a tanner, demanded that the landowners should cease making the unjust inclosures which were helping to put sheep rather than men on the land of England. Other things made the people angry. The government was putting into the shilling coin only about half the silver formerly used. Of course the traders saw this and raised the prices that were paid in these debased coins. The labourers, however, who received for their work no more shillings than before, found prices high and themselves poorer than ever. No wonder they were desperate.

Execution of Somerset, 1552.—Somerset had a kind heart, and the rigorous men of the Council found that they must use a sterner leader against the rebels. So they sent against those in Norfolk, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, son of the Dudley who had helped so unsparingly to coerce the great nobles under Henry VII (p. 185). Warwick, a hard, greedy, ambitious man, had no tender scruples, and defeated the rebels with great slaughter. When his course showed that he was the strong man in the Council, Somerset's day was over. His office of Protector was abolished, and he himself

was imprisoned for a time. A little later, in 1552, when he showed some sign of trying again to rival Warwick, he was promptly executed.

Edward VI, 1547-1553.—Amid the rude violence of the reign, we almost lose sight of the little king himself. Kings are lonely beings, and this royal child was no exception. Like his father, he believed a king to be half-divine, and he showed little natural affection. He spent much time in study, knew Greek, Latin, and French, read daily ten chapters of Scripture with delight, discoursed upon theology, and was zealous for Protestant doctrine. He kept a diary in which great matters of state are noted with intelligence. He was aware of the robbery of the church that was going on, and mentions the amounts secured by some of those about him; already, perhaps, he intended that for them a day of reckoning should come. Warwick devoted himself to gaining the favour of the young king, and with such success that the poor boy became the obedient tool of his ambitious minister. He created Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, and Warwick in turn professed undying devotion to the Protestant faith, the one thing for which Edward cared.

Plot to make Lady Jane Grey queen.—At the beginning of 1553, it was clear that the king was dying of consumption. Since Parliament had given Henry VIII the right to fix the succession to the crown, the terms of his will became now of the utmost importance. Should Edward die childless, the crown was to go to Henry's daughter Mary, and then, were she also childless, to his other daughter Elizabeth; if Elizabeth had no children, it was to go to the descendants of Henry VIII's younger sister Mary; Henry deliberately passed over the descendants of the elder sister Margaret, married to the Stuart king of Scotland. Northumberland now formed a deep-laid scheme to pass over both daughters of Henry VIII, and to bring to the throne Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII's younger sister Mary (see table p. 249). This young and innocent girl, of devout and beautiful character, Northumberland married to his

own son, Lord Guildford Dudley. He persuaded Edward that he had the right to fix the succession, and a will was prepared to secure the crown to Lady Jane Grey. The young king, wan and dying, signed it and begged the members of his Council to give their assent. One by one they did so, Cranmer, the last to sign, assenting only because of the entreaties of the dying king.

Execution of Northumberland.—Edward died in July, 1553, and Northumberland at once proclaimed Lady Jane Grey queen. But he had underestimated the deep sense of loyalty of the English people to the Tudor house. They had made up their minds that Mary should be their next ruler, and everywhere but in London she was proclaimed queen as soon as Edward's death was known. Even in London, bells were soon ringing, bonfires blazing, and crowds shouting in her honour. Within a few days her rival was a prisoner in the Tower, as was also Northumberland. The Duke showed himself to be a craven. He had talked much of his zeal for the Protestant faith. Now he declared that this had never been his real belief, and begged abjectly for life. His treason, however, had been too great, and the new queen let him go to execution without delay.

2. THE RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Mary, 1533-1558, restores Roman Catholicism.—Mary, now thirty-seven years old, occupied a remarkable position, for she was the first woman that ever ruled England. Yet, however startling it was to see a woman on the throne, the masses of the people seem to have had no misgivings. Mary was clever, well educated, and, like all the Tudors, proud and high-spirited. She had suffered much. Her heartless father had treated her with great cruelty when he put away her mother, Catherine of Aragon. An Act of Parliament declared that she was not the child of a lawful marriage, and to this statement she had been forced to give her written approval. When her dying mother asked for her daughter, Mary had not been allowed to go to her. Such sorrows had

come chiefly through the changes in religion, and now she was resolved to cure, as far as she could, the harm done to the ancient church. There is no evidence that Mary



MARY I

was cruel by nature; we know, indeed, that she was often gentle, affectionate, and merciful. But there was iron resolution in her nature. Now, when she had power, and her conscience called her to a stern task, that of crushing the enemies of her faith, she did not shrink from what it would cost. We see what the sovereign's will counted for, in those days of Tudor rule, by the readiness of Parliament to obey Mary's wishes.

Promptly, in 1553, it repealed the changes in religion made under Edward VI. Gardiner, one of the bishops imprisoned under Edward, now came forth to be Lord Chancellor. Bonner resumed his former charge as Bishop of London, and the Protestant Ridley, who had displaced him, went to a confinement destined to end only at the stake. Cranmer and Latimer, too, though they might have escaped to the continent, stood their ground to face the coming ordeal of fire.

Wyatt's rebellion, 1554.—Mary was no longer young, but she resolved to marry, and the husband she accepted was a young prince, now only twenty-seven years old, Philip, soon to be Philip II, ruler of Spain, of the Netherlands, and of America. He was by no means an ardent suitor for the queen's hand. Nor did the English approve of the marriage. It was, indeed, this marriage which first turned Mary's people against

her. They feared that their land would be dragged in the wake of the policy of Spain, a fear which the event fully justified. So strong grew the feeling against the marriage that a wide-spread conspiracy was formed to depose Mary and put her sister, Elizabeth, on the throne. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a gentleman of Kent, led a band of rebels to London in 1554, but he was defeated and executed. Lady Jane Grey's father, the Duke of Suffolk, had some share in the plot, and he too was put to death. It was too much to hope that, in so cruel a time, his gentle daughter should be spared, and Lady Jane Grey's young head and that of her husband fell on the block.



PHILIP II OF SPAIN (1527-1598)

The reconciliation with the Pope, 1554.—When her enemies were crushed and her marriage was completed, the next object of Mary's desire was to secure for her country the Pope's formal absolution. To this end she caused the changes of the previous reign to be revoked. The married clergy were now to put away their wives or to give up their posts. Once more was mass heard in Latin in the village churches. But the Pope required more than the restoration of the old services. The work of Henry VIII must be undone. England must again accept the Pope's authority, and give back the lands taken from the church. But the English did not like either of these conditions, and a long delay ensued. At last there came to England, as legate of the Pope, Cardinal Reginald Pole. His mother, daughter of Edward IV's brother, Clarence, was that Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, whom Henry VIII had beheaded in 1541, because of supposed treason against his throne (p. 209), and he was thus of royal lineage.

Henry VIII would have put him to death, could he have laid hands on him, but now he and Henry's daughter worked together for their great aim of restoring the old faith in England.

They could not do all that they wished. The queen's marriage was very unpopular, the English were already a



REGINALD POLE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTER-
BURY (1500-1558)

little restive, and Parliament, usually so docile, held out with great tenacity against the plan to take back the church lands from the present holders. So, at last, Mary had to consent that the church lands should remain in their possession. On the other hand, Parliament repealed all the laws against the Pope's authority made under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and re-enacted those permitting the punishment of heresy. Then, in 1554, with great ceremony, the realm of England received the Pope's absolution for all the injury she had done to the church.

The new landowners were delighted to be received back without surrendering gains made at the church's expense.

The burning of the bishops.—A sacred task remained to Mary. She must purge England of heresy. Ridley and Latimer, the two bishops who, next to Cranmer, had been most conspicuous in the previous reign, were tried at Oxford, sentenced to death for their heresy, and burned at the stake in 1555. Cranmer, a man of powerful intellect but weak will, was also tried at Oxford. More than once, in hope of pardon, he recanted, but Mary was not likely to spare one who had pronounced her mother's marriage invalid. He was burned at Oxford in 1556, deeply penitent for his weakness, and holding in the fire that it might be the first burned, the "unworthy hand," as he called it, which had signed his recantation. Two or three other bishops were also burned and many victims from among the common people. Occasionally, in earlier times a heretic

had been burned; now, thirteen persons, two of them women, were burned at Stratford-le-Bow, in a single day. Two hundred and seventy-seven persons are said to have been burned in the reign of Mary, more than had died in this way during the previous history of England. Mary's policy was to hold the executions in various centres, that terror might strike the hearts of heretics everywhere. The crowds, however, looked upon the burnings with pity rather than terror, and learned to respect a persecuted creed, which they had formerly associated with plunder and selfish ambition.

The loss of Calais, 1558.—Ill health and deep melancholy soon settled upon Mary. A year after her marriage, her husband, Philip, left England, and, though she yearned for him, he came back only once again and then for but a brief period. Having assumed in 1556 the sovereignty which his father, Charles V, then laid down, he used England for his own purposes. When he went to war with France he drew Mary into a struggle in which English troops fought side by side with those of Spain. The Pope aided France, and, to her horror, Mary found herself attacking the head of the church, the one interest in the world for which she deeply cared. Moreover, the war led to a serious national loss. In 1558, the French took Calais, which the English had held for more than two hundred years, but which they now lost for ever. The nation was angry, and the queen, who suffered from headache and palpitation of the heart, was oppressed by this added burden. "When I am dead and gone," she said, "thou shalt find Calais lying upon my heart." She had wished to be loved by her people, but it is probable that only the certain nearness of her death saved England from revolt. Mary died on November 17th, 1558, and Pole died the next day.

3. THE ANGLICAN SYSTEM UNDER ELIZABETH

Elizabeth, 1558-1603.—When Mary died childless, the English turned with eager hope to her young sister,

Elizabeth, now a woman of twenty-five. Her youth and beauty helped to inspire passionate devotion. She had a proud confidence in herself and was absolutely fearless. In energy of body Elizabeth was more like a man than a woman; she could ride all day, dance all night, and tire out the strongest. She had a passionate temper and, when



ELIZABETH
Note the elaborate dress.

angry, was likely to use coarse oaths and to fling the nearest object at any one who irritated her. Like all the Tudors she looked upon herself as half divine and grave statesmen trembled in her presence. "Princes," she said, "transact business in a princely way and with a princely understanding, such as private persons cannot have." Those who spoke to her, as well as those upon whom her eye fell, dropped to their knees. Yet, with all her strength, she was fickle, coquettish, and vain.

Sex played a great part in

her statecraft. From the outset she seems to have resolved never to marry, but she encouraged suitors, often merely to use them for political purposes. Many a time, by arousing hopes of a marriage alliance, did she keep foes from striking, until the time of danger had passed; for a dozen years she held France uncertain in this way. In everything except her barbaric love of dress she showed parsimony. This characteristic had its nobler side, for, by twenty-four years of saving, she was able to pay off her father's debts. It strengthened the queen's hold upon her subjects that she was the island queen, who never put foot in any realm but her own. England was the only world for which she cared; there she would be supreme, and loved, but also obeyed, by her people.

The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity.—When Mary died, Philip II intimated that, though the plan involved personal sacrifice, he would marry Elizabeth if she would uphold the Roman Catholic faith. He expected her ready assent, but his offer was rejected. This refusal seemed to indicate the devotion of Elizabeth to Protestantism. Yet, at her coronation, and at the opening of Parliament, mass was celebrated as it would have been in Mary's time. Altar lights and crucifixes in her private chapel made watchful Protestants suspect that the queen was not on their side. The problem was one for practical calculation by this cautious woman.

As she read the times, the Roman Catholic Church was losing ground. Moreover, with a temper as haughty as that of her father, she would admit no authority but her own within her realm, and would not bow to that of the Pope. It was soon clear what her policy would be. Parliament was ready to obey her wishes, and the Commons now showed a strong desire to restore the system of Edward VI. It passed first, in 1559, an Act of Supremacy, abolishing



SIR WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHELEY
(1520-1598)

the Pope's authority, which Mary had so anxiously restored, and making the queen the "supreme governor" in both church and state. Any one who persisted in maintaining the authority of the Pope was to be liable to the death penalty as a traitor. An Act of Uniformity followed, in the same session, restoring, with some slight alterations, the

Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Thus did the system set up by Crammer finally prevail. The mass was abolished; the people were to have services in English in their churches; and the law said that all must conform to this system. To this day the state church in England adheres to the practices then established.

The Thirty-nine Articles, 1563.—Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Gardiner, and nine other prelates, had died, and their sees were vacant. Moreover, all but one of the bishops who remained from the days of Mary steadily refused to accept the change to a Protestant system and were dismissed from their posts. To the many vacant sees were now appointed men who would act with moderation. Elizabeth made her former tutor, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a staunch Protestant, but a gentle, reasonable man who would smooth down difficulties. He did not press changes too harshly upon those reluctant to accept them. The Forty-Two Articles of the time of Edward VI were reduced, in 1563, to thirty-nine, which now became and still remain the doctrinal standards of the Church of England. Some harsh phrases about the old church were softened so as not to stir up needless opposition. For the time the policy of Elizabeth was to avoid conflict. She made peace with France in 1559, though on what seemed to her the hard condition of leaving Calais in French hands. All these measures gave England rest and security for a time. Within a year she was free from war, the new church system had been set up, the finances were being handled with care and economy, and the political outlook was changed indeed from what it had been in the later days of Mary.

4. MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

Burghley, the queen's chief adviser.—The calm which followed the beginning of the new reign did not result in a real peace. All over Europe the old faith and the new were bound to fight out their quarrel to the bitter end.

But the pause gave Elizabeth time to prepare for the final struggle. She had keen insight into character, and she took as her chief counsellor Sir William Cecil, whom, in time, she made Lord Burghley. He was sedate, far-sighted, free from passion, and wholly true to his royal mistress, who always treated him with more respect than she usually gave to her servants. No single minister, however, ruled under Elizabeth, as Wolsey had ruled in the time of her father. She held in her own hands the strings of statecraft, and her will was supreme.

Plots against the queen.—To check plots Cecil organized an elaborate secret service. At its head was Sir Francis Walsingham, as keen and alert, and as devoted to the queen, as was Cecil himself. Little that her enemies did escaped his knowledge. Supposed highway men sometimes robbed foreign envoys in England, and carried their secret papers to Walsingham. Many were the dangers to Elizabeth. There were fanatics who would willingly have put out of the way one whom they considered a usurper and a heretic. Cecil told Elizabeth that her food, her dress, even the perfume she inhaled, should be carefully examined for poison, and that she must guard her apartments against assassins. Before such perils the queen's fearlessness was magnificent.



MARY STUART (1542-1587)

Religious strife in Scotland.—It was natural that, in time, the forces working against Elizabeth should centre about Mary Stuart. Efforts to marry the Queen of Scots to the young king of England, Edward VI, had failed, and Mary was now the wife of Francis II, king of France. The Roman Catholic world, regarding Elizabeth as disqualified by her heresy, looked upon Mary as the lawful queen of

England, for she was next in succession to the throne (see table, p. 249). If Elizabeth were out of the way, the old church would be quickly restored under this Mary, as it had been under the earlier one. Tragic days were, however, in store for Mary Stuart. Elizabeth had not been long on the throne before Scotland too declared for the Protestant faith. Soon after Luther's revolt against the church began in 1517, Patrick Hamilton, a young Scot of good birth and education, had come under his influence, and, returning to Scotland, had begun to teach his doctrines. For this he was charged with heresy and burned at St. Andrews in 1528. In 1546 the same fate overtook George Wishart, a bold and zealous Protestant. The prelate who condemned Wishart was Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Some of Wishart's friends vowed vengeance, and they took it quickly; within three months after Wishart's death Beaton was murdered.

Scotland adopts Protestantism, 1560.—By this time Protestant teaching had made some way among the people of Scotland. The Protestant leader was John Knox, a man of untiring energy and resolute will. He had been a notary in early life, and only in 1547, when past forty, did he begin



JOHN KNOX, (1505-1572)

active work as a Protestant minister. His eloquence quickly made him prominent. While in exile for his faith, he spent some time at Geneva and became the disciple and friend of its religious leader, Calvin. When Queen Mary of England died, Knox saw that Elizabeth would be likely to aid the Protestant party in Scotland, and hurried home from Geneva. He had said in a published book that no woman was fit to govern. Elizabeth had read the book and always showed violent dislike for him and his views. Yet she found it wise to help the Scottish Protestants, if only as a check upon her rival Mary

Stuart. In August, 1560, the Scottish Parliament abolished all that pertained to the old church, and set up in its place the Presbyterian system which Knox had seen at Geneva. Queen Mary, absent in France, did not give her assent to this bill, but Knox said openly that this did not matter, and he and his allies among the people and the nobles were prepared to see that the new system was enforced.

The murder of Rizzio, 1566.—In 1560 Mary Stuart's husband, Francis II, died. She had adorned the French court by her beauty and grace, but now that there was no place for her in France, she saw, sadly enough, that she must return to Scotland, where bitter strife awaited her. When she landed in 1561, and heard mass in her private chapel, Knox attacked her as an idolatress. Stormy years followed. It was important that Mary should marry, and in 1565 she made the unhappy choice of marrying her cousin Lord Darnley (see table p. 249). He proved to be a vicious youth. Mary had made an Italian musician, Rizzio, her confidential secretary, and she treated him as an intimate friend. When Darnley tried to exercise some real authority as king, Rizzio was influential enough to block his plan. Then Darnley was so depraved as to form a plot to kill him. With an armed band, he burst, in 1566, into the chamber at Holyrood where Mary sat at supper with Rizzio. Some of the conspirators dragged the screaming secretary into an adjoining room, and there he was stabbed to death and his body thrown out of the window.

Flight of Mary to England, 1568.—Shortly after Rizzio's murder, Mary gave birth to a son, James, destined, in time, to be king both of Scotland and of England. Mary, young and passionate in temper, soon turned from Darnley with loathing. When she talked rashly of wishing to be rid of him, there were some to take her at her word. In 1567, Darnley was murdered in a house near Edinburgh. The chief person concerned in the murder was the Earl of Bothwell. It really seems as if Mary had fallen in love with this bold, unscrupulous man. He now divorced his own wife, and, a few months after Darnley's death, Mary

took him as her third husband. The scandal was, of course, great, and it gave colour to the charge that Mary had been a party to the murder of Darnley. The forces against her were now so strong that she was soon a prisoner in the hands of the Protestant leaders. In danger, if she refused, of being tried for murder, she abdicated, in 1567, in favour of her infant son, James. But friends aided her escape from Loch-leven where she was held a prisoner, and, with six thousand men to fight for her, she hazarded a battle against her foes at Langside in 1568. She was beaten, and only by hard riding did she escape to England. There she found herself in the power of her most dangerous enemy. Elizabeth held her as a prisoner, and, in spite of the captive's protests, sternly refused to see her until she could free herself of the charge of murder. Thus began, when Mary was only twenty-five, the long captivity which was to end on the scaffold nineteen years later.

Rising in England, 1569.—It was not strange that the sorrows of the beautiful captive should appeal to the Roman Catholic party and stir it to renewed activity. All over Europe it was rallying its forces. In 1540 the Pope had given his approval to the founding of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, and the Jesuits devoted themselves henceforth to the special task of restoring the Pope's authority. In 1545 began the sittings of the Council of Trent, called by the Pope to state precisely the doctrines of the church, and to carry out practical reforms. After nearly twenty years, it closed its sessions in 1563, and henceforth Roman Catholics had clear definitions of the teaching of the church, and of the grounds of difference with the Protestants. In England all this cheered the Roman Catholic party. Confident that the people, as a whole, would stand by the old church, two northern peers, the Earls of Northumberland and of Westmoreland, now led a rising in behalf of Mary. As the Pope readily granted a divorce from Bothwell, who had been married to Mary in an irregular way, it was planned now that Mary should marry the Duke of Norfolk, the greatest noble in England,

and, it seemed, the very man to drive out the heretic Elizabeth and put the Roman Catholic Mary on the throne. In November, 1569, a rebel force of about six thousand men took Durham, and in its vast Norman edifice mass was once more celebrated, the last time it was ever heard in one of these old English cathedrals. England did not rise for Mary. Cecil carried her to the south, where she remained a captive, and an army, loyal to Elizabeth, soon dispersed the rebels. The revolt maddened Elizabeth. She gave orders that those who had taken up arms should be cruelly punished, and, on village greens in the north, hundreds of bodies dangled in chains as a terrible warning to any who should dare to fight against their sovereign.

The Pope excommunicates Elizabeth, 1571.—The crisis of the struggle had now come. The defeated rebels declared that if the Pope had spoken out clearly against Elizabeth, the Catholics to a man would have risen against her. So now the Pope did speak out clearly. In 1570, Pope Pius V issued a bull denouncing Elizabeth as a heretic who had usurped the crown of England, and freeing the English from allegiance to her. Parliament, now intensely Protestant in tone, answered the Pope's act by a bill, passed in 1571, which made it an offence, punishable with death as treason, to call the queen a usurper or heretic or to introduce a papal bull into England. Now, any one who obeyed the Pope in England was, under the law, a traitor to his sovereign. Probably it is from this time that we may date the fixed resolution of the great mass of the people of England to stand with their queen against the Pope.

The Ridolfi Plot, 1571.—Religious passions were all aflame in Europe; compromise was no longer possible. In the Netherlands the Duke of Alva was destroying thousands of Protestant victims in revolt against their Catholic ruler, Philip II; in France the massacre of a great many Huguenots in cold blood on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, revealed the awful depths of religious hatred, and aroused in England angry sympathy for those who suffered. Elizabeth herself used rack and torture as no earlier sovereign

had ever used them. The Roman Catholics, to crush whom she used such terrible penalties, declared that they were persecuted for their faith. Elizabeth and her advisers said it was for their treason, and religion was, in truth, so mixed up with politics that it was not easy to define the precise limits of each. In 1571 Ridolfi, an Italian banker in London, was leading in a new attempt to assassinate Elizabeth. It had been arranged that Alva should take a force from the Netherlands into England, and that, with the aid of this foreign army, Mary should be made queen. But Burghley, by a watchfulness little short of marvellous, hunted down the plotters. The Duke of Norfolk, the would-be husband of Mary Stuart, was involved, and in 1572 he was executed.

The Jesuits in England.—The Roman Catholic church now took other steps to restore its power. At Douai, in northern France, then a part of the dominions of Philip II, William Allen, afterwards cardinal, founded a college for the education of young Englishmen as Roman Catholic missionaries



WILLIAM ALLEN, CARDINAL
(1532-1594)

to their native land. The first missionary to England was taken in 1577, and hanged and quartered as a traitor. In 1580, the Jesuits, led by two Englishmen, Parsons and Campion, took up Allen's plan. To defeat them, Parliament passed, in 1581, the first of many severe Acts which came to be known as the Recusancy Laws (a recusant being one who will not conform to the law). Henceforth, to reconcile anyone, or to be reconciled, to the church of Rome was to incur

the penalty of death. Even to hear mass was to incur a heavy fine, as was also the staying away from the church established by law. Yet, in spite of these penalties, the

priests continued their work and twenty or thirty hardy teachers landed in England every year. A good many were taken, and torture, execution, and mutilation of the bodies of the priests went on for the rest of the reign.

Elizabeth aids the revolted Netherlands, 1585.—In the Netherlands, at this time, Protestantism was fighting for its life against Philip of Spain, who had inherited the sovereignty over the Dutch. When, in 1584, William of Orange, the leader of the Protestant cause, was struck down by an assassin, Elizabeth consented to be the protector of the Dutch provinces, and in 1585 she sent her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, to rule in her name. The consequences of her action were wider than she had imagined. Philip of Spain was at length aroused against a fellow-sovereign who thus usurped his rights, and he resolved upon a mighty effort to destroy her.

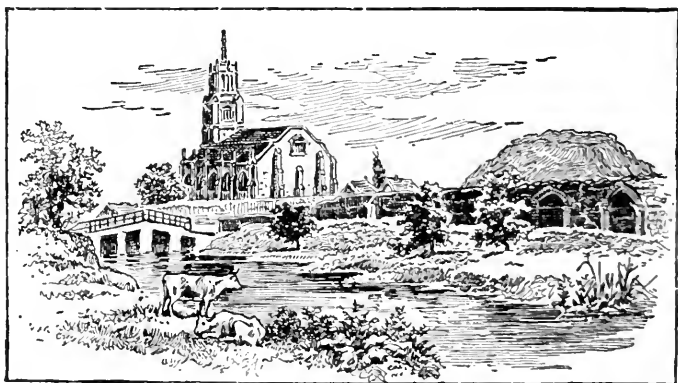


ROBERT DUDLEY,
EARL OF LEICESTER
(1532?-1583)

Babington's plot, 1586.—Elizabeth soon gave Philip further cause to take action. The final tragedy in the life of Mary Stuart was now at hand. In 1586 appeared a new plot to assassinate Elizabeth, in which the most conspicuous person was a wealthy country gentleman named Babington. Walsingham set himself to find out whether Mary, who was now confined at Chartley Manor, knew of the plot. Letters passed between her and Babington; a traitor revealed them to Walsingham, and he satisfied himself that Mary had given her approval. When Walsingham had the threads of the plot in his hands, he arrested Babington and others. Elizabeth showed savage anger at the plotters, and some fifteen of them were executed, with the cruel tortures which then preceded a traitor's death.

Execution of Mary Stuart, 1587.—The question now was

what to do with Mary Stuart. As a plotter of murder should she also die? Mary was sent to the Castle of Fotheringay, and a commission of peers and judges went down to examine her. The commission found Mary guilty, and the penalty was to be death. After weeks of doubt, Elizabeth signed Mary's death-warrant, but she would give no order for the execution. William Davison, the secretary who had charge of the warrant, handed it to Burghley. He laid it before the Privy Council, which decided to act, and, on February 7th, 1587, it notified Mary that she must die the next day. She had not believed that Elizabeth would take this step, but now she met her fate with the firmness of a martyr. She was very glad, she said, to die for the



FOTHERINGAY IN 1713

The castle in which Mary was imprisoned stood on the hill at the right, and was pulled down by order of Mary's son, James I.

honour of God and of his religion, and she went to the scaffold with queenly dignity. When the news reached Elizabeth, she broke into violent weeping, declared that Davison had disobeyed her commands, and sent him at once to the Tower. She ordered a royal funeral for the dead queen. Few believed Elizabeth's denials, yet they helped to make union against her difficult.

5. THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

Philip II's plan to acquire England.—When Mary Stuart knew that she was about to die, she wrote to Philip of Spain as the heir by her will to her rights to the crown of England, and urged him to exact vengeance for her death. France was now ready to help him, for the execution of Mary embittered the Catholic powers of Europe against Elizabeth. Philip, always slow and deliberate, had long meditated a crushing blow. Now he would fit out a mighty fleet to attack Elizabeth. His general, the Duke of Parma, had in Holland the best disciplined army in Europe. The fleet would carry this army to England; the English Catholics would rise; and, as heir now of Mary's claims, Philip would again become king of England, and this time its real ruler.

The English naval defences.—That Philip's plan would fail was almost certain from the first. Most of the English, Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, hated him, and would fight to the death for their queen. Moreover, before Philip could set foot in England, he must overwhelm the many ships that guarded the English coast. It was not that Elizabeth had a strong royal navy; when the time came she mustered but thirty of her own ships against the one hundred and thirty sent by Philip. But there were other ships to defend England. At that time, strange to say, private owners in England kept up vessels equipped for war. These were often used to prey on the commerce of other states, for such plundering in time of peace, now counted as lawless piracy, was not then so regarded; they were also serviceable for protecting English ships from similar attack by other assailants. All these vessels, five times as numerous as those of the royal navy, would take part in the fight when the time came. No doubt the English ships were smaller than the ships of Spain. These, with their high castles in bow and stern, and their broad bows, looked formidable. The English, however, had the advantage of more powerful cannon with which they could batter the

great Spanish ships, while keeping out of range themselves. Their ships were also swifter, and they could beat better to windward, and turn more readily than their foes.

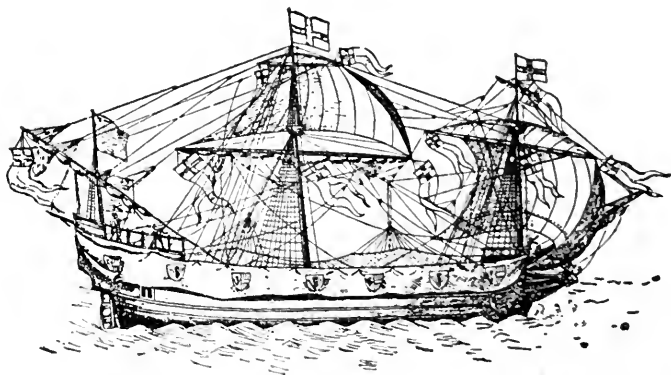


AN ENGLISH SHIP OF WAR, 1588

English sailors too were very expert. Moreover, men of gentle birth were not ashamed, when there was need, to work as seamen, and to haul ropes, side by side with common sailors, while more rigid conceptions of caste divided the Spanish officers from their men.

The Elizabethan seamen.

—The English seamen had learned their trade in a rough school. When Spain and England drew apart on the religious question, after Elizabeth came to the throne,



AN ENGLISH SHIP OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, ABOUT 1588

(The *Black Pinnace* belonging to Sir Philip Sydney, which carried his body from Holland to England, 1586).

English ships began to prey on Spain. From her rich commerce in silks and spices going up the Channel to Antwerp, and also from her great possessions in America, the English

secured varied plunder. They found profit, too, in extending the terrible trade in negro slaves which the Spaniards had already begun. The Spanish colonists in America required a supply of labourers for their mines and plantations. This toil had quickly killed off the American natives, worked to death by their new and relentless masters, and then the English proved ready to bring labourers from over the sea. John Hawkins, an English seaman, sailed down the west coast of Africa, kidnapped a cargo of negro slaves, and carried them over to the coast of America, called the Spanish Main, where he sold them at a good profit. The trade was not only cruel but illegal, for Spain forbade foreigners to trade with her colonies. A second voyage was successful, but a third, in 1567, proved a failure. Hawkins fell in with a superior Spanish force and lost many men and much property, though he and his young nephew, Francis Drake, sailed safely back to England.

Drake's voyage round the world, 1577-80.—Henceforth Drake becomes the leader in the assaults upon Spain. He scorned the trade in slaves, but was quite ready to play the pirate by seizing Spanish ships in time of peace. Even Elizabeth herself was not above sharing the spoil from his enterprises. Sometimes he secured rich booty. The gold and silver of the Pacific coast of America were brought by the Spaniards to the Isthmus of Panama, and carried across, usually on mules, to the Atlantic side, to be shipped to Europe. On one occasion, when Drake had landed on the isthmus, he was led to a spot where, from a tree-top, he looked out westwards and saw the wide sweep of the Pacific Ocean. No English ship had sailed, as yet, on its vast expanse, but now, though the Spanish claimed the



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
(1545-1596)

Pacific coast of America, Drake was resolved to invade it. He set out from England in 1577 with three ships. One of them foundered, another turned back, and at length Drake, having worked his way through the tortuous Straits of Magellan, found himself with a single ship, the *Golden Hind*, of only one hundred tons, tossed by a fierce storm for fifty-three days on the limitless waters south of Cape Horn. When able to sail northwards, he found it easy to enter and plunder the Spanish seaports on the Pacific, where foreign marauders had been hitherto unknown. He raised the English flag on a spot probably within the present state of California, and, long before New England was founded, called the country "New Albion." He had an impracticable plan to get back into the Atlantic by way of the Arctic Ocean, but, in the end, struck out across the Pacific and, in 1580, arrived in England, having sailed round the world. His voyage proved momentous; he had carried the English flag into new regions, and Englishmen felt, henceforth, that the whole world was open to their enterprise.

The "Invincible Armada."—When, at last, Philip II was preparing a fleet against England, Hawkins and Drake and other dauntless "sea-dogs" were watching and waiting for him. Philip soon had a taste of what such men would do. Drake had heard that a great many of Philip's new ships were lying in the harbour of Cadiz, waiting for their equipment. On an April day in 1587, he sailed into the harbour, burned or sank thirty-three helpless ships, and took away with him four, laden with provisions. He called this "singeing the king of Spain's beard," and declared that twelve English ships would be "a match for all the galleons of the king of Spain's dominions." These bold English leaders had assuredly no fear of what Philip might do. But he went on steadily building his fleet; and so majestic did it seem when he reviewed it, in the spring of 1588, that he christened it the "Invincible Armada."

The one hundred and thirty ships of the Armada, carrying about nine thousand sailors and twenty thousand

soldiers, left Spain late in July, 1588. The commander of the English fleet was Lord Howard of Effingham. In modern times it has been said that he was a Roman Catholic. Though this does not appear to be true, it is yet true that many of that faith fought against Spain. The leaders were wiser than their queen. Drake had begged to be allowed again to attack the Spanish ships in their own harbours, before they set out, but this Elizabeth, who still had vague hopes that peace might be made, would not permit. Her conduct in the moment of national danger did her little credit. She feared to spend the money needed for equipping her ships properly. Very meagre rations were served out, and the beer which she forced the ships to take was actually so poisonous that a number of men died from drinking it. No doubt, some blame for this bad equipment was due to inexperience rather than meanness, for the ships of private owners were as badly off. It still remains true, however, that the English seamen fought Spain with inadequate supplies of food and ammunition. It was the vessels of the royal navy which took the most serious part in the fighting.

The defeat of the Armada, 1588.—As the great Spanish ships came up the Channel, their feeble guns could not reach the English, who poured in a deadly fire. The Armada anchored off Calais, and then Drake planned a great stroke; at midnight, when the wind was rising, and the tide favourable, he sent blazing fire-ships drifting down among the Spaniards. They had no time even to weigh anchor, there was something like panic, and the Spanish commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who knew little or nothing of seamanship, ordered the ships to cut their cables and to stand out for open water. He expected



CHARLES HOWARD
Lord Howard of Effingham
and later Earl of Nottingham
(1536-1624)

to resume his position at daylight, but so difficult a move was full of peril; the ships could not work back to their old anchorage, and, as the day wore on, the wind rose to a gale. The Spaniards were in danger of drifting helplessly upon a lee shore, while the English ships, led chiefly by Drake, kept pouring in a rapid and deadly fire. They sank some ships and battered others with awful slaughter.

In spite of themselves, the Spanish were driven northwards. Panic spread among the soldiers and sailors, and even when, after a day or two, the weather moderated, they dared not sail back to meet the dreaded English, who were blocking the way. To return to Spain was now the desire of the Spaniards, and the only possible route was round Scotland and Ireland. Many perished from pestilence and by shipwreck; many others were killed when they put into Irish ports in search of food and water. Not more than one third of those who had set out returned to Spain, and even of these, the pestilence contracted in the ships carried off the greater part. The blow to Philip was crushing; never again did Spain occupy a dominant place in Europe. On England the effect was not less great; from the time of the Armada the heart of the nation was wholly with its Protestant queen.

6. THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH

Persecution of the Puritans.—Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, the Puritans began to give trouble. They were so named because they regarded the church of England as not sufficiently purified from error, not sufficiently strict in its conceptions of Christian duty. They disliked its vestments, its liturgy, and, above all, the rule of its great prelates. It was not until John Whitgift was made Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1583, that stern measures were taken to make the Puritans conform to the church of England. Early in the reign, a commission had been appointed to enforce the laws, and in 1583 this became a regular Court of High Commission, consisting of forty-four

members, twelve of whom were bishops, with wide powers to hunt out and punish those who would not conform to the established church. No one might hold a religious service who did not accept everything in the Book of Common Prayer. A practice, favoured by the Puritans, of holding meetings in private houses, was forbidden.

If the government could claim that it persecuted Roman Catholics because of their political rather than their religious views (p. 228) it could make no such excuse in regard to these "Independents" or "Separatists." They could not be charged with obeying a foreign ruler, as were the Roman Catholics. They suffered for religion alone. The law was enforced with rigour and, in 1583, two Puritans were hanged for distributing unauthorized books. A little later, some scurrilous tracts full of coarse satire and homely wit directed against the bishops, were secretly printed. They were signed "Martin Mar-prelate." In time Whitgift seized the author, and he, too, was hanged. The Court of High Commission came to mean to the Puritans a relentless tyranny like that of the Inquisition, and the hatred which it aroused helped to bring one of Whitgift's successors, Laud, to the scaffold.

The conquest of Ireland.—The greatest event of the later days of Elizabeth was a revolt in Ireland, where things had gone badly since the time of Henry VIII (p. 207). Ireland was supposed, like England, to have become Protestant, but, in truth, the only Protestants there were the English officials. The native Irish clung to the old church, and even Mary could find no Protestant heresy to punish in Ireland. Yet, since differences of race are even more vital than those of faith, the Catholic Mary thought that the best way to solve the problem of Ireland was to plant it with English settlers and to remodel it on English lines. Of course the Irish resented the attempts to fill their country with aliens, and fought fiercely against English control. In Elizabeth's reign three bloody rebellions broke out. The butchery in battle was terrible, and in addition thousands of the Irish perished by starvation in their desolated country.

At last, Elizabeth sent to Ireland, in 1598, the Earl of Essex, the favoured courtier of her later years. The last and most formidable of the rebels was Hugh O'Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone. Elizabeth, who shared the English



ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX
(1567-1601)

contempt and dislike for the Irish, sternly forbade Essex to make terms with Tyrone without her consent. But Essex, spoiled by favour, was rash and headstrong. He treated with Tyrone; it was charged that he even promised to restore papal supremacy in Ireland. Finally, when he returned to England without leave, Elizabeth's anger burst forth. The earl himself made matters worse by his folly. Madly jealous of rivals at court, he invited

the Scots to invade England, and in 1600 took up arms to force Elizabeth to change her advisers. The wild scheme completely failed, and for this treason Essex went to the block in 1601. Elizabeth sent Lord Mountjoy to Ireland to do the work which Essex had failed to do. Though, on landing, Mountjoy found all Ireland, except Dublin, in the hands of the rebels, in the end he achieved a real conquest, and, after hard fighting, Tyrone submitted to him in 1603. For the first time in its history, the whole of Ireland was at last subdued to English rule. The year of the conquest of Ireland was the last in the life of Elizabeth. She died in 1603, in her seventieth year, having lived to a greater age than any earlier English ruler.

The despotism of Elizabeth.—Parliament played no great part in the reign of Elizabeth. During forty-four years it

met but thirteen times. Elizabeth said that she had no desire for new laws. What she expected from Parliament was grants of money when need arose. For the rest, she told the members that it was she, and not they, who ruled the state. In the Commons now sat men of wealth and education, far different from the humble knights and traders of an earlier day (p. 101), and some of them chafed under this absolutism. The chief of those to speak out was a gentleman of large landed estate, Sir Peter Wentworth. Once when the Commons had been, as the queen thought, too busy about church matters, she sent them word that they were not to introduce any bill affecting religion, unless it had been first approved by the clergy. When Wentworth called this a "doleful message," inspired by the bishops, he was promptly committed to the Tower for his boldness. At a later time, he pressed the House to ask Elizabeth to name her successor. This, Elizabeth thought, was her private concern, and she was so enraged at Wentworth that she kept him in the Tower for the rest of his life. It is clear that Elizabeth did not admit the right of free speech even in Parliament itself, and, in spite of the liberties secured in Magna Carta, she kept untried persons in prison as long as she liked. It was her practice to grant monopolies to favourites. To Essex she granted, for a term of years, a monopoly of the sale of sweet wine, from which he reaped great profits. The Commons protested more than once against this abuse of the queen's power, and at last, in 1601, Elizabeth promised to cancel all monopolies that were burdensome. The fact that she could grant such privileges shows how incomplete was the control of Parliament over taxation, for such a monopoly was really a tax.

7. THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH

The first colony, Newfoundland, 1583.—"The spacious times of great Elizabeth" were times of enlarged outlook for England. It was under Elizabeth that England claimed her first colony. The ships of all nations flocked to the

coast of Newfoundland to take part in the fisheries. The Spanish ships were four times as numerous as those of England, yet Sir Humphrey Gilbert raised the English flag on the island in 1583 and declared it to be a part of the dominions of Elizabeth. In the next year, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of Elizabeth's favourite courtiers, secured permission to take possession of lands in America; but though the eastern coast of North America was christened Virginia in honour of England's virgin queen, every attempt at settlement in Virginia failed. The shadowy rule of Newfoundland was all that the queen possessed beyond England and Ireland.

The search for new routes to the east.—Even before Elizabeth ascended the throne, the reaching out into new regions had begun. In 1553, Richard Chancellor attempted to sail to China and India, by way of the Arctic Sea, stretching along the north of Russia. Though it was a wild conception, he did reach the White Sea, and was allowed to go overland to Moscow. The splendour and wealth of this city greatly surprised him. Until that time Russia had been to the rest of Europe an unknown world, but Chancellor's voyage led to the founding of the Muscovy Company, and the opening up of English trade with Moscow. All this seemed, at the time, to be going far afield indeed, but it was eclipsed when, in 1580, Drake, as we have seen, completed a voyage around the world. At the same time, Martin Frobisher was trying to find a new route to Asia by way of the Arctic Ocean, north of America, and made three voyages to that inhospitable region of ice and snow.

The East India Company founded, 1600.—The English sailed, too, into the southern seas, ready either to trade with, or to fight, the hated Spaniard; Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, met in 1591, a superior Spanish force off the Azores, and died with the splendid courage described in Tennyson's famous ballad. At last the English sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to India. For a long time Portugal alone had traded in these regions, since the Pope had granted her the same monopoly of rights in the

East, as he had given to Spain in the West. But when Philip II annexed Portugal to Spain, the Dutch and the English, warring on Philip, and defiant now of the Pope, began to compete with the Portuguese for the Eastern trade. The Dutch were first in the field, and the Dutch East India Company was already powerful when, in 1600, Elizabeth gave a charter to the East India Company, destined to play so great a part in extending English dominion in Asia.

The growth of London.—English commerce was aided by religious persecution on the continent. Protestants, driven from the Low Countries and from France, carried to England the arts of lace-making and silk-weaving, and also introduced improvements in cloth manufacture. The wool of English sheep had long been famous, and, to maintain this advantage, Parliament forbade the export of living sheep, to prevent the breed from passing to other countries. London displaced Antwerp, which had been half ruined by Philip II, in his efforts to crush the Dutch Protestants, and this gave England the most important trading centre in the world. Already it had one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and seemed a city so vast that the government anxiously forbade its further extension.

The decay of agriculture and the first Poor Law.—Through the growth of English trade and population, agriculture revived, for now, with a good market at hand, it was even more profitable to till the soil than to use it merely for pasturing sheep (p. 213). In this age, we find greater variety in farm and garden products, and, in consequence, better food for both man and beast. The landholding classes were again growing rich, and rank now depended upon income rather than upon birth. The baron of the earlier age had farmed only to support his numerous retainers; the landholder of the time of Elizabeth farmed to make money. Yet the lot of the labourers did not improve, and they were often sunk in deep poverty. The proper care of the poor had indeed already become a burning question for legislators. Mediæval England had solved it as it is

in part solved in America now, by voluntary charity. But the breakdown of the manorial system and the ruin of those helpers of the poor, the monasteries and the guilds, combined to make the claims of the poor urgent. In 1601 a Poor Law was enacted, giving two or three overseers in each parish power to tax the inhabitants to provide for the poor, and from that time Poor Laws have been an important factor in English social life.

Letters.—One, and perhaps the greatest, product of the age of Elizabeth, its literature, can be but briefly dealt with here. It was long before any one appeared who could rival the genius of Chaucer (p. 140). After his death, in 1400, bitter religious and social strife troubled England for a hundred years, and thought was not free as it had been in the earlier time. The old chivalry had almost disappeared but tales and legends of knights long remained popular. Sir Thomas Malory, completed in 1470, in the reign of Edward IV, a collection of stories of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, and this simple and direct prose is the best product of the English literature of the fifteenth century. When the Tudors came to the throne, a new spirit was already abroad. English scholars went to Italy and brought back the best that they could glean from its culture. Learning was cultivated by women as well as by men. Queen Elizabeth startled Oxford by a speech in Greek; Roger Ascham, paying a chance visit to Lady Jane Grey, found her reading with delight a dialogue of Plato in the original Greek; and many of both sexes shared her tastes.

English prose writers.—The most notable effort of the time was not, however, spent on ancient learning. The English language grew steadily more important. In the reign of Henry VIII the Bible was newly translated (p. 202) into the same Midland dialect which Chaucer used and which soon became the national speech. In this tongue an instrument was now ready for the men of genius who could use it. These men of genius were not wanting, and when, under Elizabeth, the nation was plunged into a mighty religious and political struggle, they had the inspir-

ation to attempt great themes. An astonishing number wrote, and wrote well, and the names of the chief writers are still household words. They learned to write, not so much from reading books as from contact with life itself. English prose, which matured more slowly than did English poetry, had now some noble exponents. Sir Philip Sidney perished at thirty-two, in 1586, fighting for the Protestant cause in Holland. As statesman, soldier, poet, he was the most admired man of his time, and his death was worthy of his life. When he lay mortally wounded and parched with thirst, a drink of water was brought to him. He saw the longing eyes of a wounded soldier fixed on the water, and at once handed it to him saying, "Thy necessity is greater than mine." Young as he was, he had already written the *Arcadia*, a romantic and courtly tale which gives him a permanent place as an English prose writer.

Sidney indulged in flights of fancy suitable for one to whom the world was young and life full of mystery and romance. Other prose writers saw life in more sober hues. When the church of England was attacked by the Puritans, Richard Hooker (1554?-1600) wrote in its defence *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. His stately and musical diction had never before been equalled in English prose. Yet Hooker has grave faults. Many of his sentences show the influence of Latin, and we need hardly wonder, for he probably read more books in that tongue than in English. Another great Englishman, Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans (1561-1626), wrote much of his work in Latin. He was a lawyer who rose to the high dignity of Lord Chancellor, but in some way he found time for letters in his busy life. His *Novum Organum*, written in Latin, laid the foundations of modern scientific thought, while in his *Essays* he shows himself to be a writer of a good English prose. His use of Latin seems, however, to indicate that he was not quite sure that English prose would be adequate to express his thoughts or to command the attention of his readers.

The English dramatists.—English poetry was more advanced and was already quite sure of itself. Edmund

Spenser (1553-1599) spent many years as an official in Ireland grappling with its troubled problems. Yet in such a life he learned to be a great poet, and his *Faerie Queene* with King Arthur as its hero, and the struggle of virtue and vice as its theme, is among the finest products of English genius. It is, however, the dramatists who do the most striking work in this age. At twenty-four, Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593) was writing tragedies that show amazing genius and vivid interest in all types of life. His *Tamburlaine* depicts a world-conqueror, his *Faustus* a thinker weary of commonplaces on the meaning of life and anxious to find some new key to its riddle. A younger writer, Ben Jonson (1573?-1637), who lived on into the reign of Charles I, excelled in comedy rather than in tragedy. His *Volpone* turns upon the love of money, his *Alchemist* jests at those who professed to read man's destiny. Such writers touched many-sided life. They would be great in any age, and yet their work pales before that of a mightier than they.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
(1564-1616)

The genius of Shakespeare.—

No other land or age has produced a mind equal to that of William Shakespeare (1564-1616). His early manhood was spent in London following the lowly vocation of an actor. Before he was thirty years old, however, he had already become famous as a dramatist. Queen Elizabeth showed him honour and some of the great men of the time received him as a friend. His profound sympathy enabled him to understand every class. He knew the heart of the strong

man facing heroic tasks; he knew woman's nature as no other man ever knew it; he read the mind of the blacksmith and the plowman, too. We find this knowledge

in comedies such as *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest*, and *As You Like It*; in tragedies like *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Romeo and Juliet*; in historical dramas like *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V* and *Julius Caesar*. Never before had the English tongue been shown to have such amazing power. Shakespeare uses no less than fifteen thousand words, while great modern writers like Thackeray use barely five thousand. After Shakespeare no one could doubt the fitness of English to be the language of a great literature and a great people. It was he who made it, at last, a classic tongue.

The Arts.—In Tudor England, art secured no great triumphs. We find Holbein, it is true, a famous painter, in the service of Henry VIII, but he was a foreigner. An English



EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, RENAISSANCE STYLE
Built in the reign of Elizabeth.

school of painting had developed by the time of Elizabeth, but it does not rank high in the history of art. Gothic architecture had reached its last phase and glory under Henry VII in the Perpendicular style (p. 177). Then, when the study

of the literature of the ancient world came to be pursued keenly, its architecture also was copied. England followed the continent in what is known as the Renaissance style—a revival of the columns, arches, and ornaments of classic days. Few churches were built in this age, for already there were more than Protestantism required. But many great mansions were reared, and a comfort unknown in earlier times was provided. English nobles had no longer



SOLDIER WITH CALIVER (A WEAPON SIMILAR TO THE MUSKET), TIME OF ELIZABETH

Note the curved stock, and the huge trigger, pulled by the whole hand.

any thought of fortifying their dwellings. Great windows now let in abundant light and looked out upon lawns, terraces, and open country. Even small houses now had chimneys, in contrast with the former open window or roof for the escape of smoke; carpets were common and beautiful tapestry was much used. Chairs and stools were sometimes padded to give greater ease, and, in the huge beds, hung also with tapestry, soft pillows had displaced the former log of wood. Rooms were often decorated with flowers or green boughs, and sweet-smelling herbs were strewn on the floors.

Social life.—The roads were still so bad that carriages were almost unknown; a team of six horses was sometimes used for even a two-wheeled cart. However, towards the end of the reign, the pavements in London improved, and some carriages were to be seen. Manners were not refined; Elizabeth spat upon a courtier whose attire did not please her; she boxed another's ears; and she tickled the back of the Earl of Leicester, when he knelt before her to receive his earldom. From the queen down through the upper classes, swearing was fashionable and looked upon as a mark of breeding. Vice was more open and shameless than it is now.

There were gross scenes in the London streets, and, from unbridled profligacy, some of the finest spirits of the time sank, we know, to early graves. This slackness in morals may account for some of the narrowness and rigidity of the Puritans, who, like the early Christians, found themselves in revolt against a surrounding world, which paid little heed to Christian standards.

Dress.—A writer of the time calls it an age of sham. Men padded their stockings to have the appearance of good calves, wore soles of thick cork to appear taller, and adorned themselves with bracelets and ear-rings. Extravagance in male dress went to great extremes. In one instance a single pair of the short breeches, known as trunk-hose, cost £100. Coats were often slashed in order to show rich linings, and these were of brilliant colours. Men wore great plumes and feathers of divers colours

in their hats. The women followed the vain Elizabeth to ridiculous lengths; they carried vast frizzled, and sometimes horned, erections on their heads, and the great ruffs round their necks rose at the back sometimes as high as this head-dress. Absurd hoops, surrounding the waist with a wire structure that might almost be used as a table, were worn for a time, but the usual fashion of Elizabeth's reign, among both men and women, favoured long waists, in imitation of the queen's figure. "A ship was sooner rigged than a woman" says a satirist of the time.



PIKEMAN, TIME OF ELIZABETH

The long-handled pike with a sharp metal point had displaced the former spear. The musket was the *offensive*, the pike the *defensive* weapon, until a later time when the bayonet was added to the musket and made the pike unnecessary.

Food.—There were usually but two meals a day,—dinner at about eleven and supper at five; whatever was taken early in the morning did not rank as a meal. Meat, including fowl and game, was cheap; bread, our other staple besides meat, was little used, vegetables like beans and pease taking its place. The potato and tea and coffee were not yet familiar to Europe. Among the well-to-do, wooden trenchers and wooden spoons were now superseded by silver. Forks were in common use, but only at the very end of Elizabeth's reign. Soap was still scarce. Tobacco was already used by many, notwithstanding blasts against it like those of Elizabeth's successor, James I. Owing to bad drainage, plague still carried off large numbers of the poorer population of the towns. Sea voyages were peculiarly fatal to human life; it was estimated that, within twenty years, ten thousand men perished in English ships from scurvy. The absence of a vegetable diet was, no doubt, one chief cause of this mortality.

Amusements.—A favourite Sunday pastime was the baiting of bulls and bears with dogs. Hunting was then, as it still is, the chief sport of kings, and the queen hunted three or four days a week, almost to the very end of her reign. Playing cards, familiar since 1463, had become a necessity of fashionable life. Archery was still practised on village greens, though the age saw the final displacement of the bow, as a military weapon, by the musket. The tilts and tournaments had died out, but gentlemen still wore armour as a protection in hand-to-hand fighting, and from the bullets of the musket.

TOPICS

I. Describe the changes, caused by religion, that an English village would see in the reign of Edward VI. Explain the causes of Somerset's fall.

II. Could Mary restore the church to its former position? Why was there discontent in her reign?

III. To what extent did Elizabeth continue the religious policy of her father? What was effected by each of the Acts, that of Supremacy, and that of Uniformity, under Elizabeth.

IV. Show why Elizabeth found an arch-enemy in Mary Stuart. Can the execution of Mary be justified?

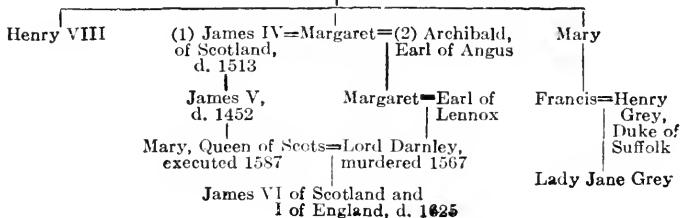
V. Was there any real danger that Philip of Spain might conquer England?

VI. Compare the causes which led Mary into religious persecution with those that influenced Elizabeth.

VII. How the founding of the East India Company came about. Was the labourer prosperous in the reign of Elizabeth? Show the influence on national life of the literary revival under Elizabeth.

THE HOUSE OF STUART

HENRY VII=Elizabeth of York



CHAPTER XI

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

1. THE ATTEMPT OF JAMES I AT ABSOLUTE RULE

James I, 1603-1625.—Elizabeth had steadily refused to recognize any one as her rightful successor. The will of Henry VIII provided that the crown should go, after her, to the descendants of his younger sister Mary, but Edward Seymour, the surviving heir to these claims, was an obscure person, quite unfit to be a ruler. "I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a king," said Elizabeth, when asked as to Seymour's rights, and it was clear that she wished James VI of Scotland to succeed her. This Stuart king was descended from Margaret Tudor, the elder sister whom Henry VIII had passed over in his will (p. 249). It was surely a strange fate that gave the throne of Elizabeth to the son of that Mary Queen of Scots whom she had executed. James had been king of Scotland since early infancy. He had had rugged experiences with the stern Presbyterian leaders. They told him in strong terms that there were two kingdoms, the church and the state, and that in the spiritual kingdom the ministers of religion were supreme.

The character of James.—James was undoubtedly able and shrewd. He was learned, too, and, like his predecessors, Alfred and Henry VIII, an author, who wrote some really creditable books. His personal life was pure, and he was so far-sighted as to press for a vital union of England and Scotland a hundred years before it was brought about. He talked, though he did not always act, in support of toleration in religion, and, throughout his career, he showed

a hatred of war and a love of peace that did him credit. Yet his bearing was not impressive. A childhood spent amid opposing factions, with whom it was dangerous to be frank, gave him a certain timidity, in vivid contrast with the outspoken fearlessness of Elizabeth at critical moments. He had none of the stately dignity which she could assume. He spoke, ate, and dressed like a boor, and his broad Scotch accent offended fastidious ears at the English court.



JAMES I

Religious parties.—As soon as Elizabeth was dead, James was proclaimed king. He had been waiting for the news and set out at once from Edinburgh to London. His coming aroused hopes in all three of the great religious parties. Each of the four previous rulers had changed the religion of the English state, and it was still thought that a new ruler might follow a similar course. The Roman Catholics expected much from the son of the martyred Mary Stuart; the Puritans knew that James had been reared a Presbyterian and hoped he would favour them; while the party of the bishops counted on James to maintain the church as Elizabeth had left it. Wise conciliation might now have done much, but there was no wise conciliation.

The Millenary Petition.—The Puritans met with the first rebuff. They presented a so-called "Millenary Petition" from a thousand discontented clergy. They did not wish to break away from the Church of England, but they asked that some things should no longer be forced upon them; that the sign of the cross in baptism, and the terms "priest" and "absolution," should be omitted from the Book of Common Prayer, and that they might be permitted to use the

surplice or not as they liked; they desired also simpler music in the services, a stricter observance of Sunday, more and better preaching, and similar practical reforms. The House of Commons favoured the Puritan demands. The bishops, on the other hand, begged James to make no concessions; Bancroft, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, even objected to the Puritan proposal for a better translation of the Bible, but was sharply rebuked by the king.

The Conference at Hampton Court, 1604.—James arranged a conference between the two parties at the palace of Hampton Court. He was delighted to be arbiter in a theological discussion. The speakers fell on their knees when they pleaded their cause before him, and it was he who spoke the final word. At one point Reynolds, the leader of the Puritans, made use of the word "presbyter." To James it called up many humiliations in past years from the stiff Presbyterians of Scotland. "A Scottish Presbytery," he said angrily, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil." He went on to declare that the enemies of bishops were the enemies of monarchy too, a conviction which he summed up pithily in the words "no bishop, no king." As king, therefore, he declared that he would stand by the bishops and make the Puritans conform or harry them out of the land. The church party used its triumph without mercy. It was now required that persons holding office in the church should declare that they believed nothing in the Prayer Book to be contrary to the word of God. Some three hundred Puritan clergy, who refused to make this declaration, were driven from their places. One good result, however, came from the conference; it arranged for a new translation of the Bible, and this authorized version appeared in 1611. The king, by whose authority it was undertaken, must, with all his faults, be counted a benefactor of the English-speaking nations. The "King James version" remains their most valued literary treasure.

The persecution of Roman Catholics.—James did not

persecute the Puritans only; he sharply checked the Roman Catholics also. Elizabeth's pressure upon them had been terrible. The wealthier were forced to pay £20 a month for leave to stay away from Anglican services, and the poorer "recusants" who absented themselves forfeited two thirds of their land, as long as they did not conform. For a few months, James adopted toward the Roman Catholics a milder policy, but he soon found that, whenever their situation became easier, their numbers tended to increase, for then weak brethren dared openly to acknowledge their faith. Within nine months after the death of Elizabeth, one hundred and forty priests landed in England, and such numbers alarmed the king. He had, moreover, a strong reason for resuming the old oppressions; the fines of Roman Catholics added to his revenues. Accordingly, in February, 1604, he again ordered the banishment of the priests; in July, Parliament passed a new Recusancy Act, reviving all the old penalties against Roman Catholics, and early in 1605 nearly six thousand persons were convicted of recusancy, and variously punished. The spirit of the age was already milder than it had been under the Tudors, for the lord chancellor warned the judges, who dealt with recusants, to shed no blood.

To be treated thus by the son of Mary Stuart brought profound disappointment to the Roman Catholic party. Among them was a leader ready for any daring scheme. Robert Catesby, a man of great strength and personal beauty, and of winning manners, belonged to an old and wealthy Roman Catholic family. Under Elizabeth his father had paid to the government one fifth of his income for recusancy, and had, besides, spent years in prison. The son while still young inherited his property. At twenty-eight he joined in Essex's outbreak, and was fined a sum equal to about £30,000 in money of the present day. He brooded over his wrongs, and, at last, in a mad spirit of fanaticism, conceived the plan of destroying the king and the Parliament of England by blowing them up with gunpowder. It was intended that the king's two sons should perish with

him and that his remaining child, an infant daughter, should become queen and be reared in the Roman Catholic faith. The scheme was wild and reckless, and the conspirators acted without the consent of the better elements in the Roman Catholic party.

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.—Catesby associated himself with Guy Fawkes, a new convert to his faith, of unflinching courage; and these two resolute men gathered about them weaker ones. Preparations went on for quite a year. The conspirators packed with gunpowder a cellar under the House of Lords, and laid iron bars upon the barrels to make the expected explosion more destructive. Parliament was to open on November 5th, 1605. As the time drew near, some of the plotters grew anxious to save friends of their own faith in attendance upon the king. At least one of



THE GUNPOWDER PLOTTERS

Catesby is the second and Fawkes the third from the right.

them was warned to stay away. The government was told of the plot, but kept quiet until the last moment. Then suddenly Fawkes was seized among the barrels of gunpowder. On learning this news Catesby and his companions

rode off into the country, but they were taken or killed, fighting to the last. Fawkes, when tortured, told all; and he and some of the other conspirators perished upon the scaffold. The Gunpowder Plot affected the English nation profoundly. Though the Roman Catholics as a whole were not responsible for it, the punishment fell, none the less, upon them. Henceforth, in the popular mind, they were capable of any crime, and Parliament enacted against them new recusancy laws; they were forbidden to appear at court, to travel more than five miles from home, to hold any public office, or to practise in any of the learned professions, and their houses were always to be open to official inspection. Until the nineteenth century, they suffered these disabilities without any hope of redress.

The king's extravagance.—James was always in financial distress. Elizabeth had spent only about £300,000 a year upon the army, the navy, and the whole work of government, for the national revenues were still absurdly small. James, coming from Scotland, a very poor country, thought himself rich in England. In the second year of his reign he incurred debts amounting to nearly £800,000, the revenue of two whole years. His reckless extravagance exhausted the treasury and made it necessary to devise new ways of getting money. James began to sell even titles. He sold some peerages for £10,000 each, and he made £90,000 by creating and selling the new hereditary title of baronet to well-to-do landholders. High offices in the state, too, he sold; that of lord high treasurer brought £20,000. He levied occasional "benevolences." Yet, in spite of this, he was hard pressed for money.

The favourites of James.—Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the younger son of Elizabeth's Burghley, was James's chief minister until his death in 1612. He worked hard to bring order into the finances, but was always harassed by foolish expenditure on the part of his master. The favourites of James cost him large sums. Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, a Scot, of whom the English courtiers were very jealous, was chief favourite until 1615. Then, when

he was convicted of a share in a famous murder, that of Sir Thomas Overbury, James refused to see him again. George Villiers succeeded Somerset. He was good-looking and lively, but shallow. James came to depend wholly on him, granted him large sums, and in the end made him Duke of Buckingham, a position that gave him rank almost regal, and placed him above the older nobility, among whom the great dignity of duke had died out. "Christ had his John, and I have my George," James said fondly; and, to the end, Buckingham, though still a young man, ruled the king.

The divine right of kings.—Under Elizabeth Parliament had already grown restive at the sovereign's despotism. James soon aroused its anger by his emphatic assertion of the divine right of kings. He said quite openly that to question the king's will was like the blasphemy and atheism which dispute God's decrees. The money of his subjects belonged to him, he often declared, and he might take it as he wished. During his reign of twenty-two years, he called but four Parliaments; with the second he came to an open rupture, and he did not summon its successor for seven years. He had no understanding of the nature and history of English institutions. He said that he alone should decide who might and who might not sit in the House of Commons, and that Parliament might debate only such matters as he chose to ask it to consider.

The attack on monopoly.—Like Elizabeth, James levied duties on his own authority, and when one Bate, a merchant, challenged an imposition on currants which Parliament had not granted, the judges upheld the king's right, in spite of its violation of principles laid down in the Great Charter (p. 88). James continued to grant the monopolies against which the Commons had protested under Elizabeth (p. 239). In 1621 the Commons condemned the whole system, and assailed in a high-handed manner some of the king's servants who profited by it. Sir Giles Mompesson was the special object of their anger, and his methods show the evils that the Commons attacked. Mompesson was in charge of the

monopoly of licensing inns, and was required to share the profits with the king. It was proved that he had licensed disorderly houses, and that, on the other hand, he had levied fines upon many decent innkeepers guilty of no offence against the state. He was a member of Parliament, and Parliament, intensely earnest in fighting monopoly, dealt with him summarily. For his conduct he was condemned to be led along the Strand riding with his head to his horse's tail, to be fined, to be imprisoned for life, and to be for ever held an infamous person. He fled from the kingdom, and James, a weak man, in spite of his blustering talk, was forced to give up all monopolies except those protecting new inventions, the modern patent rights.

The fall of Bacon, 1621.—When the question of the king's rights was aired in the courts, Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, the lord chancellor, one of the greatest names in the history of English thought (p. 243), steadily supported the royal claims, while Sir Edward Coke, chief-justice of the court of King's Bench, took the opposite view of the law. To punish Coke, James dismissed him from his great office in 1616; even judges were thus not safe if they opposed the king's claims. The House of Commons found at last an opening to retaliate upon Bacon. A judge's relations to suitors were then less restricted than they are now. The small judicial salaries were usually supplemented by fees, and a judge often accepted a present from one side or the other. Bacon received, in this manner, large amounts, paid while judgment was pending. There was no evidence that he had been influenced by these payments, for his judgments were adverse to at least some of those who had given money. In 1621 the House of Commons, only too glad to attack the recent



FRANCIS BACON
VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS
(1561-1626)

defender of monopolies, impeached Bacon. The House of Lords tried the case; conviction was certain, and even Bacon himself admitted that it was just. For accepting bribes he was dismissed from office, imprisoned for a time, and heavily fined.

The Plymouth colony, 1620.—It was in James's reign that England at last gained a firm footing in America. In 1607 the English began a successful colony in Virginia (p. 240), with its capital at Jamestown, so named in honour of the king. Religion had little to do with the beginnings of Virginia, for its founders went there simply to make their fortunes. But another colony was soon founded with religion as its chief motive. James had carried out his threat to harry the Puritans out of the land. Some of these earnest people, known as Independents, or Separatists (p. 236), finding their meetings broken up, themselves often imprisoned, and life made intolerable, began, about 1608, to migrate to Holland. Life was hard there, and, in the end, they decided to found a colony in America. Friends who had remained in England joined them, and a company

of about one hundred colonists, sailing from Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, landed on what they called Plymouth Rock, in 1620, and founded on the bleak shores of New England perhaps the most remarkable colony that the world has ever seen.

The execution of Raleigh, 1618.—

In foreign affairs James aimed at peace. His daughter, Elizabeth, married, in 1613, Frederick, Elector-Palatine, a German Protestant prince. James had a plan that his heir, Charles, should marry a princess of Spain, the leading Roman Catholic power. He would thus gain influence both with the Roman Catholic and with the Protestant parties in



SIR WALTER RALEIGH
(1552?-1618)

Europe, who were drawing near to the terrible struggle known to us as the Thirty Years' War. James's desire to conciliate Spain led to a cruel deed. Sir Walter Raleigh had been a favourite of Elizabeth, and was the last survivor of the leaders who had fought against Spain in her time. Early in the reign of James he had been sentenced to death for conspiracy, and had since been kept in the Tower, in a captivity so mild that his family continued to live with him. In the reign of Elizabeth, Raleigh had spent great sums in trying to found an English colony in America to be called Virginia (p. 240). He had failed dismally, but now he declared that he knew of a gold mine in America from which he could bring home great wealth. At last, in 1616, James permitted him to lead a party to the Orinoco River. They found no mine, but, at a time when James least wished to offend Spain, they attacked a Spanish village and shed Spanish blood. On Raleigh's return, Spain demanded angrily that he should be handed over to her to be punished for murder. James did not accede to this demand, but, to please Spain, he ordered the old sentence of death to be carried out, and, in 1618, Raleigh was executed.

The proposed Spanish marriage.—The sacrifice of Raleigh to Spain proved ineffective. The marriage treaty was not completed; the war, which was so long to desolate Germany, broke out; and James's son-in-law, the Elector-Palatine, was soon overwhelmingly defeated. England tingled with sympathy for the Protestant cause, of which the Elector was the champion, but the dallying with Catholic Spain went on. In 1623, Charles and Buckingham went to Madrid hoping to hasten the marriage. It never took place. A demand that England should give full religious liberty to the Roman Catholics, the objections of the young princess to a Protestant husband, and the certainty that Spain would give no help to the Protestant Elector, wore out the young prince's patience. He and Buckingham returned, embittered against Spain, and determined to precipitate war. Parliament, which met in 1624, was eager to strike Catholic Spain, and for once agreed with Buckingham,

whom it was soon to look upon as its arch-enemy. James, the lover of peace, was forced into the back-ground; Buckingham was the real master.

2. THE MISRULE OF BUCKINGHAM AND THE PETITION OF RIGHT

The war with Spain.—Buckingham had his way, and the war with Spain was popular. But the Commons, which had long been fighting for its rights, was chary of voting money and, in any case, wished to have some control in spending it. The members desired to aid Holland, which was still fighting Spain, and to see a revival of the glorious days of the Armada, when England, victorious on the sea, had reaped a rich harvest at the expense of Spain's commerce. Buckingham, however, had other plans, and the Commons, with no control over the king's ministers, could not stop him. Buckingham equipped an English force of twelve thousand men for war, not on the sea, but on land in Germany. This army gathered at Dover in 1624, but by the time it set out, all available money was exhausted, and the force had no provisions, and no money with which to buy them. It went by way of Holland, and tried to advance in open boats up the Rhine, to the seat of war. When winter set in, exposure and starvation wrought fearful havoc among the men. Three fourths of them were soon dead or dying, and the whole expedition was a dismal failure.

The failure at Cadiz, 1625.—It was in these days of gloom that James I died, in 1625, bitterly lamenting that he had been dragged into war. Under his successor, Charles I, Buckingham was still supreme. In order to check Spain, Buckingham made an alliance with France. A few weeks after coming to the throne, Charles I married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France, and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII. She was, of course, a Roman Catholic, and Charles promised to stop the persecution in England of adherents of her faith. All this alarmed the Commons; whose leaders were eager to enforce the strict

laws against the Roman Catholic church. A new failure of English arms now came. Buckingham did try to strike Spain on the sea. He sent a fleet and army to take the Spanish port of Cadiz, and secure the richly-laden ships which were expected to arrive from America. The whole affair was badly managed; everything went wrong; and, instead of a renewal of the days of Drake, the English saw in their streets many ill-clothed and half-starved men, returned from Cadiz, with a story of defeat and loss due to bad leadership.

Impeachment of Buckingham, 1626.—The anger of the nation found expression in 1626, when Charles met his second Parliament. The chief leader in the attack on Buckingham was Sir John Eliot. Like so many of those who now sat in the Commons, he was a man of means, of good family and education, and a deeply religious Puritan. He had studied the constitution of England, and knew the powers which the Commons had claimed in earlier days (p 143). In Eliot's delicate body there burned a fiery spirit. He had a gift of impassioned oratory that made him master of the Commons. Two things he and those who acted with him cared for intensely,—their Puritan faith, and their political liberties. In early life, Eliot had been intimate with Buckingham, and he had supported the policy of making war on Spain. Now, however, he saw that nothing effective could be done until Buckingham was driven from office. This was difficult, for Charles steadily declared that, whatever control the Commons might have in regard to taxation, the king had the right to name his own servants. The only means which the Commons could adopt to reach the hated minister was to accuse him of some crime. This they did in 1626, when



GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM (1592-1628)

Eliot led in the impeachment (p. 128) of Buckingham, summing up his misdeeds in a fiery speech. Would Charles let the trial go on? The answer was soon given, for, on the day after this speech, Eliot and another member of the Commons were sent as prisoners to the Tower. Charles was exercising the power often used by Elizabeth of confining without trial those who offended him (p. 239). But the times had changed. The Commons refused to do any business until its members were released, and, after a week, Charles gave way on this point, but at the same time stopped the trial of Buckingham before the House of Lords by dissolving Parliament.

The war with France, 1627.—Buckingham was still sanguine. A new expedition was soon on foot. By this



CHARLES I (1600-1649)

time, the alliance with France had broken down, and Charles, though he had married a French wife, turned to help the French Protestants shut up in Rochelle, whom Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII, was trying to reduce to obedience. In 1627 Charles declared war with France. A fleet of one hundred sail, with an army of some seven thousand men, set out, and this time Buckingham, who had boundless confidence in his own powers, either as statesman or soldier, led it in

person. Again there was dismal failure. The French drove Buckingham from the island of Ré, where he had landed to aid Rochelle, and he brought back to England less than half of the army which he had led to France. To thousands of English households his failure had meant bereavement and misery.

Discontent at the king's policy.—While these events were happening, no Parliament met and no supplies were voted. To get money the king now went further than Elizabeth

would have dared to go. He demanded loans from well-to-do people, and sent to prison some of those who refused to pay what he asked for. He obliged men of the poorer classes to serve in the army and navy against their will, and punished, under strict military law, those who resisted. Barracks for the army were not provided in those days, and Charles forced private persons to give lodging to his levies of soldiers; English gentlemen who were already chafing under the king's policy, now had unwelcome guests thrust into their very households.

The Petition of Right, 1628.—

In 1628 Buckingham, all undaunted by his failures before Rochelle, was planning a new expedition to that place. Great sums were needed, and at last, in



SIR JOHN ELIOT
(1592-1632)

March, Charles again called a Parliament. The Commons, now thoroughly aroused by the king's course, drew up, under the direction of Eliot and others, a Petition of Right, and refused any vote of money until Charles should grant what they asked. The Petition struck at the root of Charles's arbitrary acts. He must promise four things:—
1. To levy no gift, loan, or tax without consent of Parliament. 2. To cease the billeting of soldiers or sailors in private houses. 3. To imprison no one contrary to the law of the land. 4. To stop the punishments under martial law which he had practised.

The murder of Buckingham.—Charles resisted as long as he could, but his need of money to provide aid for Rochelle, now in dire straits, was urgent. At last he assented to the Petition of Right, and in June, 1628, it became the law of the land. He had yielded something; he had promised no longer to violate the law. But the chief ground of quarrel was hardly touched as yet, for there was nothing in the

Petition of Right affecting the question whether Parliament should control the king's ministers. Charles could still think that he had really yielded nothing. A tragic event followed quickly. In August, 1628, Buckingham was at Portsmouth, ready to set out to relieve Rochelle, when an officer, Felton, stabbed and instantly killed him.



HENRIETTA MARIA QUEEN OF
CHARLES I (1609 1639)

The aims of Charles I—The death of Buckingham made no change in the hostility between the king and Parliament. The expedition to relieve Rochelle went on under another leader, and failed as dismally as its predecessors. Since all hope of effective English aid had disappeared, Rochelle surrendered, and the Protestant party in France was finally ruined. Of

course the English Protestants fumed at the incompetence which had rendered their aid ineffective. The death of Buckingham brought this change, that the Commons were no longer at war with a minister, but were face to face with the king himself. In bearing, Charles was stately and dignified. He had amiable personal qualities. He proved a tender husband and a fond father. He took his share in manly sports, was a scholar in church history, and a good judge of both music and painting. But his mind was narrow and unsympathetic. He would not see that times had changed. When he was born, Elizabeth still reigned, and the memory of her proud and even fierce claims to be above Parliament was still fresh in his mind. Charles well understood how absolute she had been, and saw no reason why he should not be like her. This opinion he never changed. Often he seemed to yield some minor point, but he always believed that, as king, he was a being apart, that he had the God-given right to carry on the government, and that it was the duty of the

people to obey. With his dying breath he asserted these views.

The king levies Tunnage and Poundage.—In spite of the Petition of Right, which the Commons thought would settle all questions of taxation, a new dispute soon broke out. During many centuries, it had been the custom for Parliament to grant to the ruler at the beginning of a reign an income for life. Among other things he was given the right to levy duties on goods entering England,—Tunnage, a tax on each tun of wine, and Poundage, a tax on the value of each pound of merchandise. When Charles I came to the throne, the Commons, anxious to maintain control of all taxation, had passed a bill to grant Tunnage and Poundage to the king for one year, but for one only. Before the bill passed the Lords, Charles had dismissed his first Parliament, and now, for three years, he had collected the tax without any direct grant having been made to him. Parliament met in 1629. Custom House officers had seized the property of a member of Parliament who refused to pay Tunnage and Poundage, since Parliament had not yet granted it, and now the fiery Eliot demanded that these officials should be summoned before the House, for violating the right of a member of Parliament to have his goods exempt from seizure. Charles gave orders that the Custom House officers should not obey the Commons, and that the House itself should adjourn.

The Commons defy the king, 1629.—This action enraged the Commons. Three years earlier, in 1627, Charles had forbidden the Commons even to criticise Buckingham, and the members had then shown hot anger at the king's course. Now it was seen that the king had changed in nothing, and that he was resolved to keep the House from discussing any topic which he disliked. When a debate began on the grievances of the Commons, the Speaker rose promptly to say that he had the king's order to adjourn the House. "You shall sit till we please to rise," cried Denzil Holles, one of the members, and he and another member rushed to hold the Speaker in his chair by force. The doors were

locked, and, while a confused struggle was going on, Eliot read resolutions to the effect that the man was an enemy of his country, who supported the three things to which the Commons objected: changes in religion favouring Roman Catholicism which, they thought, Charles intended; the levying of Tunnage and Poundage without authority of Parliament; and the voluntary payment of these duties. The resolutions were adopted with shouts of "Aye, Aye," and then the members poured from the House.

The King dissolves Parliament, 1629, and calls none for eleven years.—The crisis had come. By the Petition of Right, Charles had agreed to keep no one in prison without proper trial. But now, in his anger, he cast that measure to the winds and promptly sent Eliot and eight other members to the Tower. Then he dissolved Parliament. So mischievous did its course seem to him that now he intended to get on without it, and for eleven years Parliament did not again meet. Moreover, he made its leaders suffer for their resistance. That memorable scene in the Commons cost Eliot his life. He resisted every effort to draw from him an apology for his course, and Charles would not release him until he made it. After three years of confinement, Eliot was attacked by consumption. His family then begged that the dying man might go to his home, but Charles was unyielding, and Eliot died in the Tower as Peter Wentworth had died there in the time of Elizabeth (p. 239). "Let Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of that parish where he died," Charles wrote on the petition asking that Eliot's body might be taken to lie with his fathers; he was implacable even toward the dead.

3. THE TYRANNY OF LAUD

The religious policy of Laud.—More than political differences estranged Charles from many of his people. He was fighting Puritanism too. His chief guide in regard to religious policy was William Laud, who had already become a bishop under James I, and who, in 1633, was made Arch-

bishop of Canterbury by Charles. He was, like Charles himself, a well-meaning but narrow man, quite without sympathy or tact. Laud's views in regard to the church were those of Charles in regard to the state; in both spheres it was the duty of the people to obey their rulers. Laud wished to destroy Puritanism. In early life he had declared publicly that Presbyterians were as far from the truth in one direction as Roman Catholics in the other. To Laud the truth was to be found in the system established in England, where an Act of Uniformity required every one to accept the same form of worship, and where the church was ruled by the bishops, with the authority of the king behind them. Enforce uniformity, said Laud; make every one obey the church system established by law, and, in time, differences will disappear; unity will follow uniformity. It was a shallow view, but Laud never wavered in his conviction of its truth.



WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY, (1573-1615)

The Court of High Commission.—With Laud now supreme in the church, days of trouble lay before the Puritans. He soon attacked their most treasured beliefs. The communion table had stood, like any other simple table, in the body of the parish churches; Laud now ordered it to be treated as a sacred altar and to be placed in the chancel inside a railing, before which communicants should kneel. Laud's own practice, when he entered a church, was to bow reverently toward the table, and to bow also during the service when the name of Jesus was mentioned. One of the most sacred convictions of the Puritans was their reverence for the Sabbath. Their strict Sabbath, however, Laud hated. James I had disliked it, too, and had issued, in 1618, an order permitting dancing, archery, setting

up of the Maypole, and other sports, on Sunday afternoons. In 1633, inspired, as was believed, by Laud, Charles re-issued this "Declaration of Sports," and now ordered the clergy to read it from their pulpits. Great was the anger of the Puritans. One clergyman read it and then said, "You have heard God's and man's commandments; obey which you please." But it was dangerous to oppose Laud. In the time of Elizabeth a Court of High Commission had been created to enforce discipline in the church (p. 236). This court Laud now used with great effect. Clergymen who did not carry out everything ordered in the Prayer Book, who resisted the removal of the communion table to the chancel, or the order to bow in the services at the name of Jesus, were likely to find themselves dismissed, or at least suspended, from their posts. The Puritans believed that Laud was a Roman Catholic at heart; and even Roman Catholics thought the same, for, in 1633, the Pope offered to make him a cardinal.

The severity of the Court of Star Chamber.—It did not matter to Laud that most Englishmen were against him. He had the king on his side, and, to him, this was authority enough. High and low soon felt the weight of his heavy hand. Alexander Leighton, a Scot, but a clergyman of the church of England, living in London, wrote a book attacking the rule of bishops. He also attacked Queen Henrietta Maria because she was a Roman Catholic. Leighton's language was certainly scurrilous, but his punishment was terrible. He was not brought before the ordinary courts. There a jury would be necessary, and an English jury might favour a Puritan. So Leighton and others were tried by the Court of Star Chamber, used by Henry VII and later rulers to check troublesome persons (p. 184), a court whose verdicts no jury hampered. Those who sat in it were not trained judges, but usually members of the king's own council, who might put the accused person on oath, force from him evidence against himself, and threaten witnesses as they liked. Leighton was sentenced, in 1630, to pay a fine of £10,000, to be degraded

from holy orders, to be publicly flogged, to have one ear cut off, one of his nostrils slit, and to be branded on the cheek with the letters S.S., "Sower of Sedition"; a few days later he was to be flogged again, and to have the other ear cut off, and the other nostril slit. He was then to be imprisoned for life. Leighton says that Laud reverently thanked God when this terrible sentence was imposed.

Even the severity of Leighton's punishment did not silence the Puritans. William Prynne, a lawyer, wrote a book attacking stage plays as the source of all evils; rulers who allowed them were aiding wickedness; women actresses were vile characters. It so happened that dramas were played at Charles's court, and that the queen herself had recently taken part in one; thus Prynne offended both the king and the queen. He was brought before the Court of Star Chamber and sentenced to be imprisoned for life, to be fined £5,000, and to have both his ears cut off. In 1634, when this terrible punishment was imposed, even Puritans hardly pitied Prynne, for he had made scurrilous attacks on the drama, which Milton, the prince of Puritan writers, favoured. While in prison Prynne managed to write, and in 1637 an attack on bishops again brought him before the Court of Star Chamber. It ordered that what was left of his ears should be sheared off, and that the letters S.L., for "Seditious Libeller," should be branded on his cheeks. When Prynne suffered the second time, a great crowd showed its sympathy with him. He said that "S.L." stood for "Stigmata Laudis," "the marks of Laud," and all men knew that the Star Chamber was carrying out Laud's policy. Prynne and other victims came to be looked upon as martyrs. The mind of the nation was hardening against the archbishop, but he did not see it. While the king supported him he was content.

4. THE RISE AND FALL OF STRAFFORD

Wentworth's and Laud's policy of "Thorough."—Another man took a leading place in the counsels of Charles at

this time. Sir Thomas Wentworth, in time to be Earl of Strafford, a rich landowner in the north of England, had united with Eliot and other leaders of the Commons in opposition to Buckingham. Later, however, he lost sympathy with these associates. He had an imperious mind and was fond of pomp and state. Puritanism, with its bald worship and rigid strictness, was distasteful to him. Perhaps



THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF
STRAFFORD (1593-1641)

too, Wentworth was inspired by ambition for high office. After the murder of Buckingham, he changed his tone, was received into favour by Charles, and became a peer, and an intimate friend of Laud. Charles sent Wentworth to take charge of the north of England, and there he soon had the Court of Star Chamber busy with the discipline of such of the northern gentry as opposed the king's policy. Wentworth's belief was that the Commons, in which he had sat, should have no control of the government. It was a many-headed body, often divided in

opinion. He found the best security in the undivided authority of a strong king. On this point he and Laud were at one. When they wrote to each other they spoke of their attitude as "Thorough," meaning by this thorough devotion to the king's interests. "Thorough" signified that, if necessary, the king should have and use an army to force his policy upon the nation.

Wentworth in Ireland, 1633-1639.—Ireland always needed a strong ruler and, in 1633, Charles sent Wentworth over as Lord Deputy. In the last days of Elizabeth, Mountjoy had really conquered Ireland (p. 238), and James I was the first king to find himself master of the whole country. He thought he could do what he liked in Ireland. He forced

the chiefs of the Irish tribes in Ulster to rule according to English law, and, when they revolted, he drove them from the country, and confiscated no less than six counties. This land he granted freely to English and Scottish colonists, who poured into Ulster, were soon its masters, and had under their feet the helpless Irish peasantry, whose natural leaders had been exiled. Wentworth, strong, resolute, ruthless, was ready to show Charles what a determined ruler could do. He stayed in Ireland from 1633 to 1639, and in that time wrought seeming wonders. He checked Puritanism among the Protestant clergy. He aided commercial prosperity by encouraging Irish industry, especially the linen trade. He soon scattered the pirates who had infested the Irish Channel. In 1634 he called together the Irish Parliament. He had himself first decided who should sit in it, and, of course, it did his will. At a later time he caused it to vote £180,000, a great sum for that time, to help the king. He trained an army under strict discipline, and was ready himself to lead it in the field. He brushed from his path, without pity, any one who opposed him. "Thorough" seemed to be working very well in Ireland, and Wentworth intended that the obedience of Ireland and its Parliament should prove to Charles what complete authority he might also gain in England. Behind everything was to be the strong army to enforce the king's will, as need might arise.

The dispute about "ship-money."—Meanwhile, in England, the difficulties of Charles were growing. He must pay his soldiers and his fleet, and in his pressing need of money he fell back upon every right to taxes that the king had ever claimed. He levied Tunnage and Poundage (p. 265); he renewed the granting of monopolies (p. 256); he enforced an old law requiring landowners with as much as £40 a year to become knights, and secured many thousands of pounds by fining those who had failed to obey the law. Devious were the ways of the harassed king to replenish his purse, and he soon found that a Parliament could be of use in this, at least, that it made easy the imposition of taxes.

One of the most important levies which Charles now made was that of "ship-money." An old law required towns and counties on the sea-coast to furnish the king with ships and men in time of national danger. In 1634, Charles levied ship-money on the coast towns and secured considerable sums. A little later he decided to levy the tax on inland counties, and in doing so stirred deeply the anger of the nation.

John Hampden.—Their indignation found expression in the bold resistance of one man. John Hampden was a gentle-



JOHN HAMPDEN (1594-1643)

man of an inland county, Buckinghamshire. He was educated, wealthy, earnest, devout, by deep conviction a Puritan. He had gone to prison in 1627, rather than pay a forced loan which Charles had levied. He had sat in Parliament with Sir John Eliot, and the two men, alike in spirit, became fast friends, and corresponded in the days when Eliot lay dying in the Tower rather than yield to the king's demands. When Charles levied ship-money on Buckinghamshire, Hampden declared that such a tax could be legally asked only from places on the coast. He was rich; his share of the tax was only a trifle; and it was a dangerous thing in the days of the Star Chamber to oppose the king. Yet, in 1635, Hampden refused to pay the tax. The case was tried before twelve judges; it aroused wide interest; but, in 1638, a majority of the judges gave a verdict against Hampden, who was thus forced to pay ship-money. His protest, however, was not in vain. It made him a national figure and raised the question of ship-money to the level of a great national issue.

The founding of Massachusetts.—Before things had gone so far, many Englishmen had found the policy of Charles in regard to religion intolerable, and had begun to ask whether it would not be better to seek homes elsewhere.

The little colony that went out in the *Mayflower* in the time of James had made the beginnings of New England (p. 258). The colonists were mostly humble people from English villages, but now men of education and position thought of following their example. They would go to live where they could have a religious system after their own mind. In 1630, many ship loads, containing in all a company of about one thousand people, set out for America. There they founded the colony of Massachusetts. This colony, was, of course, strictly Puritan in character, with an intense and bitter hatred for the Church of England, and the colonists were often narrow and intolerant. But their leaders were strong men, of high character, and the colony was destined to grow into a powerful state.

Episcopacy in Scotland.—The long tension between Charles and his subjects could only end in open conflict. When decisive action came, it was from an unexpected quarter, Scotland. The Presbyterian system had now a great hold upon the masses of the Scottish people. In each congregation lay elders helped to govern the church, and in the annual General Assembly of the Scottish Church the laymen played a great part. The rights of the people in the church were all the more valued because, in the Scottish Parliament, which had but one chamber, the lay lords were dominant and the people had slight influence. Thus it came about that the masses in Scotland clung to Presbyterianism as the guardian both of their political and of their religious liberties. This was not a type of religion likely to please Charles I, any more than it had pleased his father (p. 252). The Scottish nobles, too, did not like the rule of the Presbyterian ministers, who boldly rebuked their vices. In 1610, king and nobles were able to put the church under bishops, or overseers, three of whom were then consecrated in England. But such bishops were quite unlike the stately ruling prelates in England, for they had little power. They presided in the church synods, where, indeed, they sometimes checked the extreme claims of the ministers. These, however, remained in charge of the parishes. There they

kept up the kind of worship, church government, and moral supervision which Knox had learned at Geneva, and accustomed their people to services on a model wholly different from that of the church of England.

Charles's attempt to force bishops and a liturgy on the Scots.—From the first the condition of religion in Scotland troubled Laud. He had tried to induce James to force the English form of worship on Scotland, but James's answer was that Laud did not know the stomach of that people. Now Charles was ready to attempt what his more prudent father had avoided. In 1636 the plan was complete, and Charles issued, on his own authority, canons putting the government of the Scottish Church entirely into the hands of the bishops. It was, moreover, provided that the Scottish ministers should wear the surplice, that they should use a prayer book modelled on that of England, and that the people should confess their sins to ministers and bishops. The Church Assembly was not to meet unless summoned by the king, and then it might not touch questions of worship and discipline without the king's consent.

The Scottish National Covenant, 1638.—Truly Laud did not know the stomach of that people. To try to force such a system on the Scots was to put a match to tinder. Tumults broke out at once. In St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, when the new form of prayer was first used in August, 1637, some of those present began to shout that the mass was once more restored. A woman named, tradition says, Jenny Geddes, threw a stool at the head of the bishop who was officiating. A riot followed. All Scotland was soon aflame and most of the bishops fled from the country. By March, 1638, the Scots were freely signing a National Covenant to resist the king's policy. The General Assembly of the church met at Glasgow, in November, without asking for Charles's permission. When ordered to dissolve, it refused to obey, and proceeded to depose the bishops and to declare the new canons and prayer book of no authority. Such defiance meant war. Charles accepted the challenge, and at Berwick in the summer of 1639 his army stood face to face

with the Scots in arms under Alexander Leslie. But the king had no money to pay an army, and, in order to gain time, he made terms. He signed what is called the Treaty of Berwick, agreeing that the Scottish Assembly and the Parliament should meet to determine the religious question. They met at Edinburgh and declared for the abolition of bishops. Charles, unchanged in his resolution to force Laud's system on Scotland, would not accept this decision: he adjourned the Parliament and prepared again for an appeal to arms.

Charles calls a Parliament, 1640, and dismisses it.—A crisis had come. Charles now summoned Wentworth from Ireland, made him Earl of Strafford, and gave him a position similar to that which Buckingham had held. The king could do nothing without money, and, to get money, he must call a Parliament. This Strafford now urged him to do, and in April, 1640, the English Parliament met after a long interval of eleven years. Its Puritan members were in no humour to help the king against fellow-Puritans in Scotland. When Charles told them that England was menaced with invasion by the Scots, their answer was that his own policy was a worse menace than the Scots. By a large majority, they demanded redress of their grievances before they would vote money, and, rather than yield, Charles promptly dissolved them, without getting any help. Because of its brief life, this was called the Short Parliament. Charles, now in desperate need, begged a loan from Spain, promising, in return, to help Spain against Protestant Holland. He sought money in France. Through his Catholic wife, he even asked the Pope to lend him both money and men to subdue his rebellious Protestant subjects, and the Pope offered to do so if Charles would become a Roman Catholic. But nothing came of it all, and he had to go on unaided.

Charles meets the Long Parliament, 1640.—The Scots invaded England in August, 1640, and soon defeated a part of Charles's army at Newburn on the Tyne. Charles was not ready for war, and he therefore agreed to leave

the Scots in possession of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and to pay them £850 a day for their expenses until a permanent treaty was made. The bargain deeply humiliated the English, but without money Charles was helpless. He called a great council of peers to advise with him at York. They believed that the English nation would stand by the king, to avenge the outrage of invasion by the Scots, and urged him again to summon a Parliament. Charles resisted as long as he could, but yielded at last. The Puritan leaders carried on a keen campaign to make sure of a Puritan Parliament, and in November, 1640, the momentous assembly, famous in history as the Long Parliament, came together at Westminster.

Pym's attack on Strafford.—It was a company of angry men that faced Charles in the Commons. There were no recognized leaders, but the man who quickly stood to the fore when Parliament met was John Pym. Hampden, who had already done much in fighting the king's policy, sat in the Commons; so, too, did Oliver Cromwell, of whom we shall soon hear much, and many others, well-educated and well-to-do. But, for the time, Pym led. He had been one of those who impeached Buckingham in earlier days, and now, fifty-six years old, with long experience in Parliament and a deep knowledge of English



JOHN PYM (1584-1643)

history, he was ready to strike, and to strike hard. Pym had made up his mind to a terrible thing. Strafford must die. Pym knew that Strafford was ready to bring over the Irish army, should its aid be required to make the king's power absolute, and he resolved to destroy Strafford if he could. There is a tradition that the two men had formerly been intimate friends. If so, Strafford's course had **now** hardened Pym's heart. Strafford, too, was getting ready

to strike. He now came to London, knowing that his life was in danger, but with a guarantee of safety from the king. His plan was to arrest Pym and other leaders on a charge of high treason, for encouraging the Scots to invade England.

Execution of Strafford, 1641.—Had Strafford been his own master, he might have struck quickly, but he served a weak ruler. Charles hesitated and delayed. Suddenly, in 1640, Strafford was impeached on a charge of high treason, arrested in the House of Lords, and committed to the Tower. The system which the king had tried to build up was now completely shattered. Laud followed Strafford to the Tower. The trial of Strafford by the House of Lords for treason began in March, 1641. He made an able defence, and his fellow-peers, who acted as judges, were impressed. The Commons now saw the urgent need of haste. Charles was planning to bring an army from the north to coerce the Parliament. There was even danger that Dutch and Irish troops might be brought up the Thames to attack the Tower. The trial of Strafford by the method of impeachment (p. 129) was accordingly stopped. What is known as a Bill of Attainder (p. 207), an Act of Parliament condemning him to death, quickly passed the Commons. By this time the London mob, excited by the fear of an attack on the city to release Strafford, clamoured for his death. The Lords passed the Bill of Attainder. It could become law only if Charles assented to it. Would he do so? He had promised Strafford that no harm should come to him. But the mob was raging round the royal palace at Whitehall, and Charles feared that even his queen might be attacked and killed. In weak panic, he consented that Strafford should die, and the next day, in the presence of a vast crowd, Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill. Laud, too, had been imprisoned, and he lingered on, half-forgotten. But Prynne and other enemies were resolved to destroy him, too, and in 1645, an old man of seventy-two, he was beheaded. Less than four years later, Charles I himself was to perish on the block. Terrible indeed was the fight into which the Parliament had now plunged against the king and his counsellors.

5. THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

The Long Parliament.—On the day when Charles agreed to Strafford's death he had to assent to another measure; the Parliament, remembering how, in earlier times, he had checked its plans by dismissing it, now obliged him to agree that it should not be dissolved except with its own consent. By this act the Parliament was able to defy the king, who could no longer end its life, and, as it sat for twenty years, it received the name of the "Long Parliament." It soon abolished ship-money, and declared Tunnage and Poundage illegal unless granted by Parliament. It quickly ended, too, the High Commission and the Star Chamber which had been so severe with Puritan offenders, and it even paid some compensation to the chief victims of Laud's cruel policy. To all these measures Charles had to give his assent. By August terms were arranged with the Scots. Parliament voted money to pay them off, and they went home.

The Grand Remonstrance, 1641.—By these victories of the Parliament the political questions seemed to be settled. But the religious question remained. What religious system should be adopted in England? Pym was now convinced that bishops must be altogether abolished, and he was ready to make an alliance with the Scots, and even to agree that the same Presbyterian system should prevail in both countries, a proposal certain to create division in England. Just at this time fearful news came from Ireland. In October, 1641, the Irish of Ulster broke out in rebellion which led to a terrible massacre of the English and Scottish colonists in that district (p. 271). Who was to crush this revolt? If the Parliament gave Charles an army to do it, he might turn this weapon against Parliament itself. Pym, now so conspicuous and so masterful that his enemies called him "King Pym," declared that the Commons must in some way control the actual carrying on of the government. But upon this point Charles was still unyielding, and his firmness angered Pym and his friends. They were resolved to take power out of the

hands of the king, and in November, 1641, they drew up a Grand Remonstrance, a very long document with two hundred and six clauses. It was really a history of the king's misdoings, and it demanded two things: that the king's ministers should be responsible to Parliament, and that an assembly of divines should be nominated by Parliament to settle the religious question.

Impeachment of Pym and others, 1642.—The Grand Remonstrance required Charles to surrender his right to administer the government, something that no king of England had yet done. No wonder that the Commons adopted it by a majority of only eleven. It was clear now that many in that House, and far more in the Lords, would be on the king's side in opposition to the religious and political schemes of Pym. This knowledge encouraged Charles to make a bold stroke. In January, 1642, he impeached six leaders, five of them, including Pym and Hampden, members of the Commons. The king's charges meant that they must be tried before the House of Lords for treason, and without doubt he intended for them the fate which had overtaken Strafford. As no one seemed ready to arrest them, Charles resolved to do it himself. On January 4th, with an armed following, he strode into the House of Commons, intending to seize the five members. They had, however, been warned and were not present. The Londoners took up their cause against Charles, and, a few days later, a great crowd escorted them back to Westminster. The final breach had now come. The day before this happened, Charles had left Whitehall rather than see the triumph of his enemies. He returned to it only once, seven years later, and then it was for his own execution.

Cavaliers and Roundheads.—Civil war was now certain. Each side was measuring its forces and each had strong support. The rich south-east of England, with London and the other chief trading centres, stood, on the whole, by the Parliament. So, too, did those of the landed gentry, and they were not few, who held to the Puritan faith. The north and west, poorer and with a population more scattered, were

with the king. Charles could appeal to those who treasured the old sentiment of loyalty and loved the Church of England; to those also who feared that a new despotism would arise in the Parliament. With him were, in fact, the greater part of the nobility and landed gentry of England. The royalists called themselves "Cavaliers," and they nicknamed their opponents "Roundheads," because some of them wore their hair short, in protest against the prevailing fashion of wearing the hair long, as women wear it still. It was apparently Puritans of humble position who wore short hair; most of the Puritan leaders, as their portraits show, followed the fashion of the time. The Puritans did not lack culture; Milton, the age's paragon of classic learning, was on the Puritan side.

Civil War, 1642.—During the summer of 1642, each side appealed for support to the nation. The Parliament declared that it was opposing, not the king, but his evil counsellors, while Charles protested that he stood out against radical attacks on the ancient and undoubted rights of the monarchy. There was keen rivalry to get control of the best fighting material in the country. England had no standing army. Each year the militia was called out for a brief training, and then these so-called "trained bands" were sent home. The Parliament had demanded the right to name the officers of the trained bands, a proposal that called from Charles a fiery refusal; he would not, he said, trust his own wife and children with such a power for half an hour. In spite of this, many of the trained bands fought for the Parliament. Open war began when, in August, 1642, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, a ceremony intended to inform the nation that the king was at war with his enemies, and to summon all loyal men to his side. Charles himself was no great general, but his nephew, Prince Rupert.



"ROUNDHEAD"
ABOUT 1619



son of the Elector-Palatine and Charles's sister, Elizabeth (p. 258), was a leader who made a high reputation during the war. The Earl of Essex, son of the favourite whom Elizabeth had executed (p. 238), commanded the forces of the Parliament, which was glad to have the services of a man of high rank. He was brave, but not brilliant. The royalists had the best fighting material. "Their troops

are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality," said Oliver Cromwell; on the other side they were mostly "old decayed serving-men and tapsters." The war, like all civil war, broke up friendships and divided families; brother sometimes fought against brother, father against son. Each side hoped for victory within a short time; in fact, the struggle lasted for more than six years.

Battle of Edgehill, 1642.—The first battle came in October, 1642. Many royalists had joined Charles since the raising



PRINCE RUPERT, SON OF ELIZABETH,
SISTER OF CHARLES I (1619-1682)

of the royal standard, and he planned to push through to London, the very heart of the enemy's country, and end the war by one powerful effort. At Edgehill, lying some distance northwest of Oxford, Charles met Essex barring the way. Rupert carried everything before him in a fiery cavalry charge, but, when he returned from pursuing the foe, he found that the royalist infantry had been checked. Edgehill was not decisive, but, as Charles was able to occupy Oxford, the fruits

of victory were with him. Yet he derived no benefit from this advantage. When he tried to press on to London, he was confronted by that force which many royalists professed to despise as a drunken, undisciplined horde. It was the trained bands of citizen soldiery, many of them working apprentices, who stood arrayed at Turnham Green to bar his advance on London. Charles's only hope of success lay in forcing his way through them at once, but so formidable did they now seem that he hesitated and fell back on Oxford. Never again was there any real danger that he might take London.

Cromwell and Prince Rupert, cavalry leaders.—We cannot follow the war in detail. Many were the sieges, the stormings of strongholds, the skirmishes and battles in the open field. Most of the fighting was hand to hand, and the slaughter was terrible. Yet these Englishmen showed restraint and compassion. Charles ordered that the tenderest care should be given to wounded rebels who fell into royalist hands, and the other side was equally merciful. No pity, however, was shown to the Irish fighting on the side of the royalists. Reports of the horrors of the Irish revolt in 1641 had sunk deeply into the minds of the Puritans, and now they treated all Irish as if they were dangerous wild beasts; even Irish women, found in the royalist camp at Naseby, were slaughtered. The war developed at least two brilliant generals. If the royalists had a great cavalry leader in Rupert, the parliament also found one in Oliver Cromwell. He knew nothing of a soldier's work until past forty. Edgehill was his first battle; but as the struggle went on he showed a genius for war that made him the greatest captain of his age. The need of a leader like Cromwell was all the greater because death had carried off some notable men. Hampden was killed in a petty skirmish at Chalgrove Field in 1643. Pym, too, died in that year, and was laid with solemn state in Westminster Abbey.

The Westminster Assembly.—It was not easy for the Parliament to make any real headway against the king, and for a long time after Edgehill Charles more than held his own. He was resolved to stand by the Church of England, while, on the other hand, the leaders in the Parliament were resolved to overthrow the bishops. That a new church system might be outlined the parliament called an Assembly of Divines to meet at Westminster in July, 1643. At this time the parliament was very uneasy as to the king's aims and it looked round for an ally. The Presbyterians in Scotland had good reason to fear that if Charles saved Episcopacy in England he would force it upon Scotland. They now agreed to an alliance with the Parliament, and its terms were expressed in a Solemn League and Covenant

sworn to by both nations in 1643. In this covenant the English pledged themselves to reform their church "according to the example of the best reformed churches"; but when the Scots took this phrase to mean reform on the Presbyterian model, the English insisted on adding "and according to the word of God" which left the question still open. There were, in truth, profound difficulties in the way of making England Presbyterian. Those who upheld that system wished to put down every other form of church government. Cromwell, however, and others formed a party which came to be known as Independents. They intended to leave some freedom to individuals and congregations. Cromwell would never admit that he should not promote a good officer who did not happen to be a Presbyterian.

Battle of Marston Moor, 1644.—Charles had three armies, one in Cornwall, a second in Yorkshire, while the third lay at Oxford. The royalists planned that when the army from Cornwall advanced to the Thames below London, a second army should march from the north to the same point. As soon as these had cut off supplies from the capital, Charles would advance from Oxford to take the place by assault. The plan was never carried out. Yet for a time it seemed likely to succeed. The royalist army advanced from Cornwall, and in July, 1643, Rupert took by storm the Puritan stronghold of Bristol. Charles himself began the siege of Gloucester. Its fall might have ended the war; but it did not fall. Essex, though a timid general, marched to its relief with the sturdy fighting material of the trained bands of London, and Charles raised the siege. At Newbury, near London, he tried to bar the return of Essex to the capital, but again the trained bands fought so well that Charles had to retire. By this time, he held most of the south-west. Plymouth, in the heart of a royalist country, still held out, however, and was never taken.

In the north the royalists were not so successful. They held York but could not take Hull, which, like Plymouth, never yielded during the war. The advance to the Thames proved impossible. In Norfolk, Suffolk, and other eastern

counties a powerful parliamentary force was organized largely through the energy of Oliver Cromwell, and, though the royalists won some victories, they could never break through to the south to help Charles. The alliance of the Parliament with the Scots enabled the allies to hem in the royalists between foes on the north and on the south. At last, in July, 1644, a year after Rupert's brilliant success at Bristol, came a decisive battle in the north. Its scene was at Marston Moor, near York, which the royalists were making strong efforts to hold. The fight was desperate. Half of the army of the Parliament was in flight before the royalists, when Cromwell, in a furious charge, drove back Rupert and won the day. It was a crushing blow to the royalist side. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote Cromwell.

The new model army, 1645.—Yet all was not well on the side of the Parliament. The struggle was destined to be long, and Cromwell and others saw that abler generals and better organization were needed to win final victory. In 1644, not long after Marston Moor, Essex was out-generalled by the king in Cornwall and the whole of his infantry was forced to surrender. London was saved only by a second fight at Newbury, which was not decisive but which thwarted the king's plans. Many on the side of the Parliament were by this time profoundly discouraged. The Earl of Manchester who commanded at Newbury said quite openly that Charles could not be overcome: "If we beat the king ninety-nine times, he is king still . . . but if the king beat us once we shall all be hanged." Unity and efficiency were lacking in the army; often no pay was available for the soldiers who, ragged and half starved, deserted in great numbers. The first remedy for this state of affairs was to get the best leaders. Therefore the Parliament passed, in 1645, a Self-denying Ordinance, requiring the resignation of all officers who were members. Then, only the competent need be re-appointed. Essex retired and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a good leader, of high character, became the general of the army of the Parliament, with Oliver Cromwell as

lieutenant-general in command of the cavalry. A New Model Army was soon formed, with officers chosen for their capacity and for their belief in the religious views for which the army fought. Many of the privates in the New Model Army shared these deep convictions. They were to have good pay, good equipment, and strict discipline. For more than a hundred years English armies had been notoriously bad in organization. The New Model was the first disciplined army the country had had in many generations, perhaps the first in its history.

Battle of Naseby, 1645.—The climax of the struggle had been reached. After Marston Moor, Rupert had called Cromwell "Ironside" for his unbending strength, and the name passed to his soldiers. No force could withstand their terrible charge. The decisive battle of the war came in 1645, at Naseby, not far from Leicester. Fairfax and Cromwell were at the head of the cavalry. The king was in command on his own side. Again, as at Edgehill, Rupert carried all before him in a dashing charge; again he turned back too late and found that Cromwell's cavalry had shattered the royalist force. Charles rode away a fugitive from a battle, which, though he did not yet see it, was the fatal blow to his cause. Even Rupert told him that now the only thing to do was to make the best terms he could.

Defeat of Montrose, 1645.—Charles still hoped in Scotland which had a much deeper affection than had England for his line. Were not the Stuarts the ancient Scottish royal house, the heirs to the glories of Bruce? At almost any time the masses of the Scottish people had been ready to fight for Charles, if he would promise not to disturb their Presbyterian system. As it was he had a party in Scotland. Its leader, the Marquis of Montrose, was a brilliant soldier. He raised a force in the Highlands and, during 1644 and 1645, won a series of brilliant victories. But the methods of the men who fought for him aroused horror and anger. Among them were some trained soldiers brought over from Ireland, but Montrose's force consisted chiefly of Highlanders who waged war like savages, cared for little else

than plunder, and killed men, it was said, as light-heartedly as they would kill chickens. They were chiefly of the clan of the Macdonalds, and committed fearful atrocities against their old enemies, the Campbells the clansmen of the Marquis of Argyle, the Presbyterian leader. Soon after Naseby, David Leslie, a trained leader, marched against Montrose and utterly routed him at Philiphaugh. The victory made the cause of Charles as hopeless in Scotland as Naseby had made it in England.

Charles had lost his baggage at Naseby, and with it his reputation, for his private letters, which were taken, showed that he had intended to bring a foreign army into England, if he could, and that, while he had been treating, now with Scots, now with English, he was as unyielding as ever and intended to revoke the pledges he might give. His fixed resolve was to be master of the state, to control the army, and to keep to the church policy of Laud. In 1646 the king rode into the camp of the Scottish army which was allied with the Parliament. Even yet he hoped to arouse the Scots against the English. The Scots, however, finding him resolved not to yield on the question of religion, held him as a prisoner, and in 1647 handed him over to the English Parliament, and to a captivity that was to end on the scaffold.

Presbyterians and Independents.—Meanwhile, all was not going well with the Presbyterian cause among the English. The Assembly of Divines which had been summoned (p. 283) did indeed draw up a Presbyterian creed, the "Westminster Confession," to which the Church of Scotland still holds, and Parliament abolished the Church of England system and made Presbyterianism the state religion of England. Though the English Puritans as a whole never really accepted this settlement, it was now clear that many in the Parliament would side with the king if he would promise to support Presbyterianism. The army leaders, seeing the danger, decided that it was safer to have him in their own custody than in that of the Parliament. So, by Cromwell's orders, Cornet Joyce seized the king at

Holmby and the army kept him its prisoner. It had now many grievances against the Parliament. The war was over, but the pay of the soldiers remained in arrears, and the Parliament showed a desire to disband the army at once without paying it. Moreover, the leaders of the army were Independents who disliked Presbyterianism. At last the army leaders brought charges against eleven Presbyterian members of the Commons that they were preparing to support the king in a new war. The London mob attacked the House of Commons, and forced the eleven members to fly to the continent. It was clear that the army would master the Parliament, if the need arose, and it now proved anew its mastery over the king. In November, 1647, in the hope of getting away to France, he eluded his jailers and escaped to the Isle of Wight. But he found himself held there in Carisbrooke Castle, still the prisoner of the army.

6. THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

The second Civil War, 1648.—By this time Charles had spun a web of intrigue which led quickly to renewed civil war. When the year 1648 opened, the English royalists were again eagerly preparing to draw the sword. Their Puritan foes were now profoundly divided on the religious question. Hitherto the Scots, the English Presbyterians, and the Independents had fought together against the king. But now the Scots drew away from this league for, amazing to relate, Charles promised them, not merely to uphold Presbyterianism in Scotland, but to establish it in England and to suppress all heresy. It is true that he agreed to do this for three years only, and that he had no thought of making the change permanent. He was really tricking the Scots, but so eager were they to see their faith triumphant that they prepared now to fight not against, but for, the king. The English Presbyterians, too, cooled in their opposition to Charles, who seemed to have yielded what they wished. At the same time Charles was seeking aid

in foreign countries. With rising anger the army saw the renewed menace of war, due to the schemes of the king who was now calmly certain of success. "As a Christian" he had said after Naseby, "I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper," and now, he thought, his day was coming. It happened that in April, 1648, Cromwell and other leaders of the army were assembled at Windsor for three days of prayer and searching of heart. On the third day, while they were still in session, came the news that South Wales was in arms for the king. Before those grave men separated to meet the danger, they vowed solemnly that, if victorious in the renewed war, they should call "Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood that he had shed."

Battle of Preston, 1648.—For a time the situation was critical. In the previous war the fleet had been firm for the Parliament; now part of it went over to the royalist side. But the English army was led skilfully, and the tide of victory turned in its favour. Fairfax, the commander-in-chief, soon crushed the royalists in Kent and Essex, and took their stronghold, Colchester. Cromwell marched first into South Wales, and, victorious there, turned northward to meet his former allies, the Scots, now in the field for Charles and Presbyterianism. In August, 1648, Cromwell fought, near Preston, a three days' battle with the Scottish army, badly led by the Duke of Hamilton, but outnumbering his own by three to one. It was the first struggle in which Cromwell had held supreme command, and his victory was complete. Ten thousand prisoners, among them Hamilton himself, fell into the hands of the victors, who numbered not more than nine thousand.

"Pride's Purge" of the Commons, 1648.—By the autumn the war was over, and in November, Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the man on the parliamentary side best fitted for the task by special studies, made a last overture to Charles finally to settle the government of England. He was required to agree that Parliament should meet at least every second year and that it should control the state.

Perhaps Charles then had his last chance of life. Yet, though there were already clamours for his head, he sternly rejected these proposals. Both sides had become embittered. The view of the victors was that they should punish



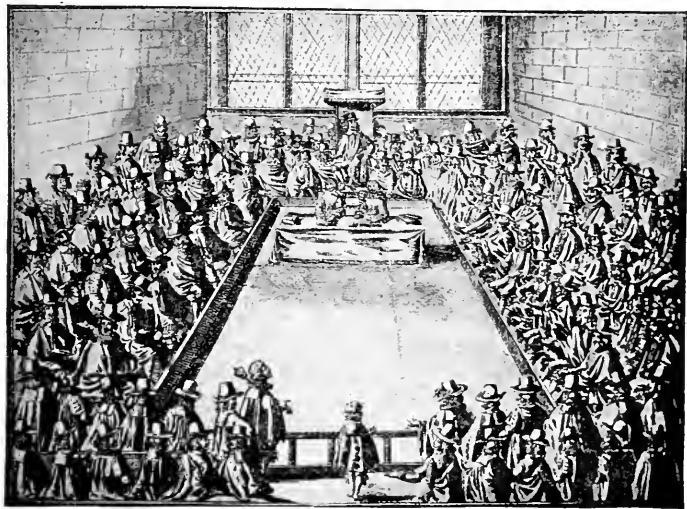
HENRY IRETON (1611-1651)

as traitors those who had renewed the war. They shot two of the chief officers taken at Colchester, and executed the Duke of Hamilton and other leaders. It was improbable that the king, on whom the army laid the chief blame, should escape. On December 1st, 1648, with rude violence, soldiers took Charles from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle, on the Hampshire coast, where he was held in strict confinement. The Parliament protested at once against such treatment of the king, and then the army turned

on the Parliament. Colonel Pride went to the door of the House of Commons and arrested, or refused entrance to, all who were thought likely to oppose the authority of the army. Two thirds of the members were excluded and the remnant, or "Rump," now left was ready to work with the army for the destruction of the king.

Trial of Charles I., 1649.—Charles was taken to Windsor. Even as late as on December 25th, 1648, Oliver Cromwell wished to spare the king's life. But Charles would not even receive a messenger of the army with new proposals. Then, at last, Cromwell agreed that Charles must be brought to trial. The House of Lords, in which there were now rarely more than a dozen members, held aloof, but the "Rump" was ready to go on to the bitter end. It created a High Court of Justice, to consist of one hundred and thirty-five persons, with the task of trying Charles for treason in levying war upon the Parliament and kingdom. Half of those named would not act. Even Fairfax, commander-in-

chief of the army, would have nothing to do with these steps against the king. Charles was brought to Westminster Hall, but he refused to plead or to acknowledge the special court. The proceedings went on for a week. Many of Charles's judges would have shrunk from carrying the case through to the end, but Cromwell and Ireton now held them to their task. "I tell you," Cromwell answered to some questionings of Algernon Sydney, "we will cut off his head with the crown upon it." The king was sentenced to death.



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

From a print of 1643.

Execution of Charles I.—It was on a sharp and frosty morning, January 30th, 1649, that Charles with his guards walked rapidly from St. James's Palace across the park to Whitehall. For two or three hours he was kept waiting in a bedchamber of the palace, but about two in the afternoon came the final scene. When the king stepped through a window of the banqueting hall to the scaffold, he was in

the presence of a great crowd. He spoke, but his voice could hardly reach beyond those with him on the scaffold. "I am the martyr of the people," he said, and in his heart he believed that the laws and liberties of England were safer in a king's hands than in those of the Parliament. The axe fell, and the executioner silently held up the bleeding head. A groan, "such a groan," said an eye-witness, "as I never heard before and desire that I may never hear again," burst from the crowd, and it was typical of the horror with which all Europe regarded the final act of the army.

TOPICS

I. Why James I was not likely to be popular in England. Why he coerced the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. The effect of the Gunpowder Plot. Why James was always pressed for money. The grounds of quarrel between James and Parliament. The cause of Bacon's fall. What led to the founding of the Plymouth colony? Why Raleigh was beheaded.

II. What grounds of quarrel the Commons had with Buckingham. Did the Petition of Right prove effective?

III. Why did the Commons object to the levying of Tunnage and Poundage by Charles? The cause of Charles's anger with Eliot. Why did Charles dislike Puritanism? The Court of High Commission tried offenders against church law, the Court of Star Chamber those against civil law; what use did Laud make of them?

IV. What Wentworth meant by "Thorough." What he did in Ireland. The ground of Hampden's objection to "ship-money." The founding of Massachusetts. Why Charles found it difficult to coerce the Scots. The causes of the summoning of the Long Parliament. On what ground did Pym impeach Strafford? Why Charles allowed Strafford to die.

V. What was the effect of giving to Parliament the right to dissolve itself? The causes of the revolt in Ireland in 1641. What led to the Grand Remonstrance? Why did Charles try to arrest the five members? What elements fought on each side during the Civil War? What were the momentous battles of the Civil War? What religious agreement did the English make with the Scots? Why a New Model Army was necessary and its effect at Naseby. How Charles became a prisoner. How the Scots and the English army differed on the question of religion.

VI. Why the second Civil War angered the army against Charles. What part the Scots played in it. Why Charles still refused to yield to the demands of the army. Was his execution a political necessity?

CHAPTER XII

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE

1. THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC

The Commonwealth and the Council of State.—The long, bitter struggle against the despotism of the king had had a terrible ending. A doubtful story is told that Cromwell went alone, late at night, to the chamber at Whitehall, where lay the body of Charles, lifted the lid of the coffin, gazed long upon the dead face, and murmured, "Cruel necessity." The king was dead; the Church of England had been overthrown; and, to complete the work of destruction, the "Rump" abolished the House of Lords and finally declared England a republic. These changes were carried through by less than a hundred men who now sat in the House of Commons, the remnant of the Long Parliament elected nine years earlier. As they had been duly chosen by the people, they declared that they alone might speak for England. It is quite certain that, at any time, an appeal to the whole nation would have ended their rule and brought back a king. If we ask why the nation did not brush aside these few men and assert its will, the answer is that, behind the few men, was the army, the real master of Parliament and of the country. The despotism of the king had been replaced by the despotism of the soldier, ready to destroy even what remained of the Long Parliament when its day should come. This Parliament



OLIVER CROMWELL (1599-1658)

named, chiefly from its own members, a Council of State of forty-one members, by which England was to be governed.

Cromwell in Ireland, 1649.—Grim war was still to be waged, and in war Oliver Cromwell was the man to lead. Fairfax was still commander-in-chief, but now he was only half-hearted, since he had disapproved of the execution of the king. In Ireland and Scotland, Charles II, son of Charles I, was proclaimed king, and this meant that both



JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF
ORMONDE (1610-1683)

countries would attack the English republic. The situation in Ireland was the more pressing, and the Parliament promptly named Oliver Cromwell lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief in that country. Cromwell went to Ireland in the summer of 1649. The rebellion in Ulster, in 1641, had brought terrible disorder to the island. When civil war followed in England, the Irish were left, for a time, to carry on a struggle amongst themselves. Some extremists wished to break away from

England altogether. Those Roman Catholics and those Protestants, who were still loyal to Charles I, distrusted each other and would not work together. Thus it happened that when, in 1647, the cause of Charles seemed ruined in England, his representative in Ireland, James Butler, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Ormonde, handed over Dublin to the forces of the Parliament, and left the country. But when the second Civil War broke out in 1648, he returned to Ireland. He now made peace with the Roman Catholic party, and it was not long before nearly the whole of Ireland, except Dublin, and Derry in the north, was in his hands. He even laid siege to Dublin, and this was the situation which Cromwell had to face. The stern Puritan landed at Dublin in August, 1649, with some twelve thou-

sand tried veterans of the Civil War. He proclaimed that he had come "to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed," and the Irish were soon to learn what this meant.

The sieges of Drogheda and Wexford 1649.—Three weeks after landing, Cromwell was before Drogheda, in which were some of Ormonde's best regiments under Sir Arthur Aston. When the place refused to surrender, Cromwell took it by storm, after a severe struggle, and put to the sword about three thousand people. There were many Roman Catholics in Drogheda. In St. Peter's Church, where, as Cromwell notes, with fierce exultation at the sudden havoc, mass had been celebrated on the previous Sunday, one thousand people were killed by his troops. The church steeple, in which many had taken refuge, was set on fire, and the burning people died in the flames cursing the cruel Puritan. No quarter was given to priests or friars wherever found. Cromwell thought that in this terrible work he was the agent of God. "I wish," he said, "that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom, indeed, the praise of this mercy belongs." He marched on Wexford, gave its garrison an hour in which to yield, and when they refused, carried that place also by storm, and again put some two or three thousand people to the sword. This awful rigour was in accordance with the laws of war of the time, under which places taken by storm had no claim to mercy. A few years earlier, twenty thousand men and women had perished in Protestant Magdeburg, in Germany, when their foes took it by assault. Cromwell's defence of his severity was that it would terrify the land into submission and save further bloodshed. Town after town opened its gates to him, and within a few months the greater part of Ireland was in his hands.

The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland.—The Puritan victor was resolved that the Protestant hold on Ireland should never be relaxed. Cromwell's policy was to make extensive grants of land in Ireland to Englishmen, and especially to the officers who had followed him. England annexed Ire-

land, abolished its Parliament, and confiscated about three fourths of its land. Catholic landowners who had been in revolt were ordered to leave their homes and go into a region of Connaught, for the most part barren and desolate; after May 1st, 1654, those found east of the appointed boundary were to be punished by death. This stern measure did not greatly affect the ignorant tillers of the soil. Their work as labourers was still needed, and the new situation meant for them only a change of masters. The sufferers from the evictions were the educated and well-to-do, who, young and old alike, were compelled to make their toilsome way, usually on foot, into Connaught. Severe examples were made of those who refused to go. And there were other sufferers whose lot was even more terrible. When the war ended in 1652, many Irish officers and soldiers, who had fought against the English, were allowed to go to the continent, but their families remained behind. The Puritan mind knew no pity for the defeated Irish, and many of these helpless people were shipped to the West Indies and sold as slaves. It is no wonder that the days of Cromwell are still a bitter memory in Ireland.

Charles II received as king in Scotland, 1650.—Cromwell himself remained in Ireland less than a year, for, early in 1650, there was pressing need of him in Scotland. The Scots had defied England by proclaiming Charles II king. Fairfax, the commander-in-chief of the English army, himself a Presbyterian, would not war on the Presbyterian Scots. He declared that they had the right to name their own ruler, and laid down his command rather than attack them. The task of crushing royalist Scotland was therefore intrusted to Cromwell. The Scots were divided into two parties. Both were ready to support Charles II. But the great mass of the Scots, led by the Earl of Argyle, head of the great Campbell clan, were resolved that, before Charles ruled, he must take the Covenant and support the Presbyterian faith. On the other hand, there had always been a party in Scotland opposed to Presbyterianism, and their leader, the Marquis of Montrose, now resolved to save the

new king from the Presbyterians. He had lived on the continent since his defeat at Philiphaugh in 1645 (p. 287), but, early in 1650, he landed in the north of Scotland with a small force. Montrose was a hero, but his little army was soon cut to pieces. He himself was taken, and, on May 21st, 1650, the stern Argyle caused the chivalrous leader against covenanting Scotland to be hanged at Edinburgh as an outlaw. Charles yielded to Argyle's demands, took the Covenant, declared that his father, in refusing it, had opposed the will of God, and that his mother was an idolatress because of her Roman Catholic faith. Time was to show the value of such an oath taken by a pleasure-loving youth, who meant no word of what he had so solemnly promised.



ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL
EIGHTH EARL AND FIRST MARQUIS
OF ARGYLE (1593-1661)

Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, 1650; at Worcester, 1651.—Cromwell entered Scotland in July, 1650. He failed, at first, to take Edinburgh and was, indeed, out-generalled by the able Scottish leader, David Leslie. The English retreated to Dunbar, where Cromwell stood at bay with his back to the sea. Here, when Leslie attacked him on September 3rd, Cromwell, with an inferior force, overwhelmed the Scots, and took ten thousand prisoners. Soon he occupied Edinburgh, and was busy rebuking the Presbyterians for warring on their triumphant spiritual brethren, the English Independents. Early in 1651 Cromwell lay at the point of death from fever but by June he was again in the field, carrying the war into the Highlands. Leslie, hoping that the royalists in England would rise in behalf of Charles II, took the bold course of leaving Cromwell in the north and

marching into England with Charles. The English royalists, however, did not rise to welcome Presbyterian invaders of their country. Cromwell marched southwards in pursuit of Leslie, and overtook him at Worcester. On September 3rd, the anniversary of Dunbar, there was another terrible battle, and another complete victory for Cromwell. Though Charles II managed, after many perils, to escape to France, not a regiment or company of the Scottish army reached the border. Thousands perished; half the nobility of Scotland were taken prisoners; and Scotland itself was soon a conquered country. The victors abolished the Scottish Parliament, united the country to England, and, in time, allowed it and Ireland each to send thirty members to the Parliament at London. In the proud days when they aided the English Parliament in the Civil War, the Scots had forced their faith on the larger kingdom; now for years they were to remain a conquered people, held down by an alien army. Yet they gained something. They had free access to the markets of their neighbours, and their trade flourished. Presbyterianism, too, gained, for under the Commonwealth it was free as it had not been free under the Stuart kings.

The Navigation Act, 1651.—The English republic found no welcome in Europe. Its envoys to continental courts were sometimes murdered, and for such crimes it could get no redress. Prince Rupert turned sailor and fitted out privateers to prey on English commerce; and continental nations, thinking England weak, allowed their seaports to be used for this unfriendly purpose. England, however, showed herself strong on the sea as on the land. The Dutch, free at last from claims upon them by Spain, had a great fleet. Their ships were in every port; they did the carrying trade of Europe. This position the English were now bold enough to attack. In 1651 the Parliament passed the Navigation Act, which forbade the ships of other countries to trade to the English colonies, or to carry to England the products of any country but their own. The Dutch might not, for instance, carry French goods, or any goods but their own, to England.

Naval war with Holland, 1652-1654.—The Act meant war, sooner or later, with Holland, and England now had a great seaman to fight the naval battles which were sure to follow. Robert Blake had taken part as a soldier in the Civil War; he was past fifty when he first went to sea in 1649, and yet he became a famous sailor, fit to rank with Drake and Nelson. By 1651 he had destroyed Rupert's privateers and had shown that the English were formidable on the sea. He then turned on the Dutch. It would have been fitting that England and Holland, two Protestant republics fighting for their lives in the face of a hostile Europe, should help, rather than oppose, each other. But trade rivalries are bitter, and war broke out in 1652. Blake and Tromp, the Dutch admiral, had many contests. At first Tromp beat Blake off Dungeness. The command of the Channel passed, for a time, to the Dutch, and the story was told that Tromp carried a broom at his masthead to show his resolve to sweep the English from the seas. But, in 1653, it was Tromp's turn to be defeated, and Blake regained command of the Channel. During the war the English captured more than a thousand Dutch vessels. This ruinous struggle was, however, soon brought to an end. England modified slightly the Navigation Act, so that the Dutch might bring to England the products of northern Europe, and peace was made in 1654.

2. OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR

The decay of the Long Parliament.—Meanwhile, the English Parliament was not doing well. Though at first efficient, it soon became selfish, tyrannical, and even corrupt. It raised money in devious ways; it sold the property of the king, including his magnificent collection of pictures, and that of the bishops, deans, and cathedral chapters; it threatened the destruction of the cathedrals themselves, and even began the work at Lichfield. To meet the expenses of war it sold the estates of many royalists, confiscating, by a single act, the property of six hundred

and eighteen persons, many of them innocent of any real offence against the state. The fact became clear that persons able to pay members to shield them were spared, and that men in Parliament, formerly poor, were growing rich.

Expulsion of the Long Parliament, 1653.—The crowning offence of the Parliament came when it introduced a bill to make its own existence permanent. In future, there was to be no general election; vacancies were merely to be filled as they occurred, and even elected members might be refused the right to sit, if the House so decided. The bill would hand England over to the lasting rule of the few who sat in Parliament. On April 19th, 1653, Cromwell held a conference with the Parliamentary leaders. They agreed to delay the objectionable bill, but, on the very next morning, news came to him at Whitehall that some members were hurrying the bill through, with the intention, as soon as it was law, of adjourning until November. Angry at the broken promise, he hastened down to the House with a guard of soldiers, whom he stationed at the entrance. He took his seat as a member, and soon rose to speak. As he went on, his anger mastered him. In violent language he charged the assembly with abuse of its powers, and individual members with profligacy, drunkenness, and corruption. When his wrath was at a white heat, he turned to a fellow-officer and ordered him to bring in the soldiers. They marched in, and quickly obliged the members to retire, Cromwell giving stern orders when there was any show of resistance. The mace, the symbol of the Parliament's authority, lay on the table. "What shall we do with this bauble?" said Cromwell, "Here, take it away." A bauble was the fantastic baton carried by the court fool as a mock symbol of office. By no other term could Cromwell have shown more completely his contempt for what the Long Parliament had become. Its expulsion left the mastery of the three kingdoms in his hands and in those of the army.

The nominated Parliament, 1653.—Cromwell now tried

the experiment of forming a Parliament out of the best men whom the army could find. The Independent churches sent in the names of approved persons, Cromwell's council of officers chose one hundred and forty; and these were summoned, in Cromwell's name as "captain-general," to act as a Parliament. They met on July 4th, 1653. Cromwell looked upon this assembly with enthusiastic good-will, for he was supremely anxious to end rule by the army alone. The newly nominated Parliament was soon busily engaged. It was nicknamed by some the Little Parliament, because of its small numbers, and by others Barebone's Parliament, after Barbon one of the most active members. Some of the members worked zealously on plans to end imprisonment for debt, to simplify the law, to abolish the Court of Chancery, to make the judges independent, and to give congregations the right to choose their own ministers. But some talked, too, of reducing the army, and of abolishing the church tithe—the chief means of support of the ministers of religion;—proposals that Cromwell disliked, and that aroused great opposition. The defects in the new system were many. Englishmen had been accustomed to two things, a single person at the head of the state, and elections from time to time. This nominated Parliament provided for neither of these things; one hundred and forty men carried on the government, and they were chosen, not by the nation, but by the officers of the army. Some members had wild schemes for setting up an ideal government of the saints on earth. Men of property began to take alarm, and they looked to Cromwell for protection. He and the wiser of the members acted together. One day, before their opponents were warned, these members put through a resolution by which the nominated Parliament dissolved itself and handed over its authority to Cromwell.

Cromwell protector, under the "Instrument of Government," 1653-1657.—The army leaders had prepared a new constitution which they called the "Instrument of Government." It provided for a head of the state. He was to be

called protector, and the first protector was to be Oliver Cromwell. It provided also for a Parliament of one chamber, with four hundred and sixty members, Ireland and Scotland each to have thirty, England four hundred. These were to be elected freely, except that no one who had been on the king's side in the Civil War might vote for members or sit in the House, a step necessary to block the return of the Stuarts. The constituencies were arranged anew. No longer did mere villages, "rotten boroughs," send members; these were now to be distributed according to population. A Puritan national church was to be supported by the tithe, and there was to be full religious liberty for the varying types of Puritan faith. On December 16th, 1653, four days after the nominated Parliament was dissolved, Cromwell was installed as protector. At last, he was something more than the successful soldier; he was the head of the state as well as of the army. Men noticed that now he wore plain civilian's dress, for he knew that military rule was hateful to England. He was far from being absolute. He could not veto measures of his Parliament, nor could he dismiss the Council of State of from thirteen to twenty-one members, which it named to advise him. The "Instrument of Government" really divided authority between the protector and the Parliament, and gave England something that resembled the old system with its king and Parliament. But since Cromwell carried on the government, he remained in control of the resources of the nation.

The character of Cromwell.—Out of the tumult of the times had at last emerged a strong ruler. "A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in house of clay than his was," said a member of Cromwell's own household. Nothing but force of character brought him to the front, for he had few outward graces. A fellow-member of Parliament thus described him in 1640: "I came into the House one morning well clad and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; his stature

was of good size; . . . his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable." Like all men of genius, he was in advance of his age; he loved toleration when the best minds of his time thought it sin not to try to crush all error. Resolute conviction lay behind everything he did. "There is nothing to be feared," he said, "but our own sin and sloth." He went into battle with a Psalm on his lips "Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered." Where once he had sought God's leading, and made up his mind, nothing could bend his will. Yet he was far removed from the grim and stern Puritan our fancy paints. He drank beer and light wine, used tobacco, and was passionately fond of music. When his daughter Frances was married, the dancing was kept up in Whitehall until five o'clock in the morning. His family affections were keen; he was gentle and tender toward his aged mother, and toward his wife and children. He enjoyed hunting and hawking and liked good horses. With but little taste for books, he yet kept the greatest man of letters of the time, John Milton, in an official post in his government. He loved a jest, and would break off from serious work at Whitehall to make verses with Thurloe, his secretary. His humour was grim enough. "What a crowd came out to your lordship's triumph!" was said to him in Bristol when he returned from victory in Ireland. "Yes," said Oliver, who always looked facts squarely in the face, "but if it were to see me hanged how many more there would be." In his work as ruler, he was sometimes very arbitrary. Living in an age of revolution, in which the appeal to force was easy, Cromwell relied too much upon the strong arm, as the best instrument of government. When he became protector, he was told that it was against the will of the nation. "There will be nine in ten against you." "Very well," said he, "but what if I disarm the nine, and put a sword in the tenth man's hand? Would not that do the business?"

The opposition to Cromwell.—Cromwell was protector for nearly nine months before he met his first Parliament. In

that time he did much. He ended the war with Holland by a treaty made in April, 1654. He set about making his religious system effective. A Board of Triers was named, which inquired as to the character of all persons to be appointed to parishes. Commissioners were sent through the country to make sure that the ministers already in the parishes were fit and devout men. The former Anglican clergy had of course been turned out. The new ministers might be ignorant, but Cromwell was resolved that they should at least be godly. In military, civil, and religious matters alike, the strong guiding hand was soon apparent. Enormous obstacles lay in the way of settled government. The Puritan party was profoundly divided. Some fanatics,



SIR HARRY VANE
(1613-1662)

led by Major-General Harrison, wanted nothing that resembled the old system of king and Parliament, and clamoured for a fifth monarchy to succeed the four ancient monarchies; in this fifth monarchy Jesus Christ was to be king, and Harrison and other saints were to carry on the government. "The Levellers," led by John Lilburne, wanted a complete democracy with no distinctions of rank. Sir Harry Vane led a party of republicans, who now turned against Cromwell, because he seemed

too much like a monarch; they did not favour government by a "single person."

The rule of the major-generals.—Strife matured when Cromwell's first Parliament met in September, 1654. It declared that since the "Instrument of Government" had been drawn up by private persons, Parliament should prepare a new constitution. This claim Cromwell would not admit. He knew not what wild ideas might be proposed, what chances for a Stuart restoration might be given. He accordingly declared that the "fundamentals," already laid down, must not be touched, and he excluded from the

House those who would not accept this principle. None the less did the members who remained go on preparing a new constitution. When, therefore, the House had sat for its allotted five months, Cromwell dismissed it, and thus checked its plans. The danger from the royalists, which Cromwell feared, was real. In March, 1655, there was an armed rising. Cromwell soon suppressed it. But now, to keep the royalists well in hand, he divided England into ten districts, under as many major-generals, who preserved order with Spartan severity. They kept a close watch on what was printed, punished profane language and disregard of the Puritan Sabbath, and stopped cock-fighting and horse-racing. They forced the royalists to pay a special tax to support the military force which held them in check. Every one could see that this hated rule of the major-generals was the undisguised rule of force.

“The Humble Petition and Advice,” 1657.—In September, 1656, the protector met his second Parliament under the “Instrument of Government.” He called it because England was at war with Spain and he needed money. His major-generals had promised that the elections should be favourable to his government, yet everywhere protests were heard against military rule. When the Parliament assembled, Cromwell excluded no less than one hundred members who would not pledge themselves to abide by the fundamentals. But even the docile remainder condemned the rule of the soldier, and it was clear that men’s minds were turning more and more to the old form of government by king and Parliament. Judges now declared that this old system was necessary, if valid laws were to be made. At last a new and decisive step was taken, when, in March, 1657, the Parliament presented to Cromwell a “Humble Petition and Advice” asking him to rule England under a constitution which provided for a sovereign and a Parliament with two chambers. It was to be the old monarchy reformed; a Cromwell instead of a Stuart was to be king. The new second chamber was not to be a revival of the old House of Lords but an improved body, for the best men were to be

named to it. There was to be a House of Commons as of old. The Church of Rome and the Church of England were still to be denied liberty of worship.

Cromwell's regal power with the title of protector.—At once, from the officers of the army, came a storm of protest against setting up a king. After a terrible struggle they had rid England of one king; should they now name another? Cromwell himself cared little for the title of king. It was only, he said, "a feather in a hat," but he was too much of an Englishman not to long, as the nation longed, for some government that would make the foundations of order secure, and end military despotism. After long deliberation, Cromwell refused the title of king. On other points he accepted the new constitution, with himself as head of the state, not as king but as protector. As protector he was to have regal powers, and to nominate both his own successor and the seventy members of the new upper house.

Cromwell dismisses his Parliament, 1658.—In June, 1657, Cromwell was once more installed as protector, this time with pomp like that at an ancient coronation. He was king in all but name. In 1653 it was the army that had made him protector; now it was the Parliament, and he fondly hoped that the nation would approve of this new system, and that it would endure. His hopes were vain. In January, 1658, the new Parliament met, and, within a month, it was quarrelling with Cromwell. In the Lower House the republicans gained control. Though Cromwell called the new second chamber the House of Lords, the republican Commons would call it only "the other House"; a real House of Lords, they said, would be a menace to the liberties of the nation. There was even a plot to depose Cromwell from the leadership of the army. At last, on February 4th, 1658, he summoned both chambers before him, rebuked them for disloyalty to the "Humble Petition and Advice," told them that they were playing the game of the royalists, and, after a fiery speech, ended with this, "I do dissolve this Parliament, and let God be judge between you and

me." He expected in due course to summon a new Parliament; but in the same year he died.

3. THE POLICY OF CROMWELL

Cromwell's foreign policy.—Such were some of the difficulties amid which Oliver Cromwell carried on the government of England. Yet she never had five years more glorious than those of his protectorate. He had splendid audacity and planned a new control of the world. England and Holland, the leading Protestant states, were to unite; Holland should take Asia as her sphere of influence, and England, America; their trade would prosper and they could make Protestantism supreme on two continents. Holland, however, did not relish proposals that meant the dominance over her of England, the stronger partner, and, in the end, the plan of union was abandoned. Then Cromwell was ready to show that England, unaided, could exercise world-wide influence. France and Spain were at war. He told Spain that he would join her, if she would help England to recover Calais, lost in the days of Mary (p. 219), stop the persecution of English Protestants in Spanish dominions, and permit the English to trade freely with the Spanish West Indies. As Spain scornfully rejected these proposals, Cromwell, in time of peace, sent a fleet to seize Cuba and other Spanish islands. The expedition was not well managed, but the fleet did seize Jamaica, which thus became a permanent English possession in 1655.

The naval victories of Blake.—Pirates from Tunis, in North Africa, had committed outrages on English ships, while France and other states had allowed their seaports to be used against England by Rupert and others. These were wrongs to which Cromwell would not submit. When, by 1654, he had built a powerful fleet, he sent Blake into the Mediterranean, that he might make the English flag respected in regions where, as yet, it had rarely been seen. It was not long before Blake sailed into the stronghold of the Tunis pirates, and burned the ships which lay there,

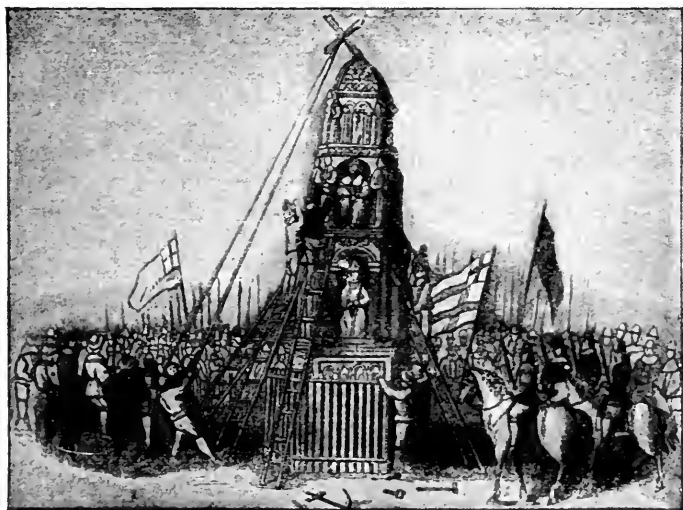
a lesson that ended piratical attacks on the English. France was soon convinced that England would be a useful ally, and united with Cromwell against Spain. In 1657, Blake entered the harbour of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, and, without the loss of an English ship, destroyed the Spanish treasure-fleet of sixteen sail. Worn out by his labours, Blake died on the way home.

Cromwell aids the Waldenses.—Even from his ally, France, Cromwell demanded substantial returns. In 1658, she ceded to England the harbour of Dunkirk. This gave a stronghold on the continent, such as Calais had been of old, and such as Gibraltar is now. Cromwell exacted another thing from France. He induced her to give freedom of religion to Englishmen within her borders, and to aid in getting toleration for persecuted Protestants elsewhere. In Alpine valleys bordering on France, the Duke of Savoy was carrying on fearful persecutions of his subjects, the Waldenses, who were in revolt against the Roman Catholic Church. Cromwell not only subscribed £2,000 out of his own purse to relieve these suffering people, but he also induced Cardinal Mazarin, who was all-powerful in France, to bring pressure on the Duke of Savoy to stop the persecutions. Cromwell was ready to help, in any part of the world, a cause he cared for. If war should come in consequence, he did not shrink from all its risks.

Cromwell's domestic policy.—At home, Cromwell steadily pursued the work, long needed, of improving the laws of England. He tried to reform thoroughly the criminal law, but did not rule long enough to accomplish this purpose. He succeeded, however, in checking one form of violence, by treating the killing of a man in a duel as murder. His government showed great zeal for education. As chancellor of the University of Oxford, he took especial care of its interests. He planned a university for the north, and founded a college at Durham, which was dispersed at the Restoration, but refounded in the nineteenth century. Cromwell, like Henry VIII, laid hands on church lands, but he did not repeat the great misuse of Henry (p. 205); the

revenues went to schools and colleges, and to other projects of government. Oppressive taxation was the chief fault of Cromwell's rule. He found war a costly game, and there was, as yet, no national bank to ease the present burden by loans payable in the future. In Cromwell's last year the deficit was mounting at the rate of £400,000 annually, half the total revenue of Charles I, and Cromwell was at his wit's end for money. The royalists found his exactions intolerable.

The extent of religious toleration under Cromwell.—In spite of its Puritan rigour, Cromwell's government was the most tolerant of religious differences that England had known. "Popery and Prelacy" were, it is true, suppressed.



PURITANS DESTROYING THE CROSS IN CHEAPSIDE

A Roman priest was put to death in 1654. The law was severe against the use of the Anglican ritual. Cromwell himself stopped a service in the cathedral at Ely with the stern summons to the clergyman, "Leave off your fooling and come down, sir"; his soldiers sometimes broke into churches,

destroyed crosses and crucifixes, and even beautiful stained glass, and tore to pieces prayer books and surplices. None the less was Cromwell's church liberal in spirit. It required no uniformity of doctrine or service. Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, varying greatly in articles of faith, became rectors and vicars of English parishes, and Cromwell saw that they had good incomes. His government tolerated the use of the Anglican ritual in London. The new Society of Friends, or "Quakers," as they were contemptuously called, because they sometimes quivered with religious emotion, were cruelly persecuted at this time in various parts of England; but Cromwell himself showed kindness to their leader, George Fox. Since the days of Edward I, the Jews had been kept out of England, but Cromwell allowed some of them to come back, though even he could not secure for them the legal toleration which he desired. He saved many Roman Catholics from persecution. He was, in a word, the steadfast friend of free opinion. Yet, when opinion was allied with action against his authority, his adversaries found him relentless.

The death of Cromwell, 1658.—At fifty-nine Cromwell was an old man. He had reached middle age before he began the arduous labours of war, and they wore him out quickly. Early in August, 1658, his favourite daughter died, and his grief was profound. Soon mortal illness seized him, and he lay dying in the palace at Whitehall. On the night of August 31st, he was overheard in prayer, and his prayer was for the English people. "Give them," prayed Cromwell, "consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them. . . Teach those who look too much upon Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself." Nor did he forget to pray for his enemies. "Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people, too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure." He died on September 3rd, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

We think of Cromwell as an autocrat. He had, indeed

become supreme in England by the aid of the army. Yet he desired to govern with the consent of the nation. By nature and conviction he was neither despot nor democrat, for his mind ever turned to the old method of rule by Sovereign, Lords, and Commons, though not with a Stuart on the throne. He tried to keep the army out of politics, and to give Parliament its old place of authority, but five stormy years were too few for his task. The real majority was always against him. Royalists, republicans, and Presbyterians, even the army in large degree, was at heart hostile to the unbending sway of the protector.

4. THE STUART RESTORATION

Richard Cromwell.—Oliver had named his son Richard as his successor, and Richard became protector and was at first well received; not even a dog ventured to wag its tongue against him, it was said. But Richard, rather idle in his habits, and with the sporting tastes of a country gentleman, was ill-suited to his part. Only a soldier, or a king, could rule in England, and he was neither. The army needed a real leader. England was at war with Spain, and the pay of the soldiers was so much in arrears that there was talk even of seizing Oliver's body, as a hostage to the creditors of the state. Richard summoned a Parliament, from which royalists were still excluded; and when it met in January, 1659, it showed a desire that the new protector should rely less upon his army, and more upon his Parliament, than Oliver had done. When Richard seemed to favour this policy, the army turned against him and obliged him, in April, 1659, to



RICHARD CROMWELL (1626-1712)

dissolve the Parliament that was trying to control the government.

The army expels the "Rump" of the Long Parliament.—By this step the army again became supreme. Yet, as the army leaders well knew, the heart of the nation was against military rule. The republicans now raised a mighty clamour for the "good old time" of the republic, and, since the Long Parliament, duly chosen by the English people, had been the mouthpiece of the republic, until Oliver dismissed it, a cry went forth for the Long Parliament. The army chiefs at last called it together, and in May, 1659, forty-two members of the "Rump" of the Long Parliament, expelled six years earlier by Oliver, came together at Westminster. The summoning of the Long Parliament meant the end of Richard's rule. On this, both Parliament and army were

agreed, and he promptly abdicated. Soon the Rump and the army again quarrelled, for the Rump claimed to control everything, including the appointment of officers. In October, 1659, the army expelled the Rump as Cromwell had done.

General Monk.—A new portent now rose in Scotland. General George Monk commanded the army which kept order in conquered Scotland, and had become practically protector of that country, as Oliver



GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE
(1608-1670).

was of England. His position in the north, remote from English faction, with a well-disciplined army and a supply of money that he had prudently saved, was commanding. To him the expelled Rump appealed and he promptly

declared that, soldier though he was, he should support civil, as against military, government. The army leaders sent General Lambert to the north to fight Monk, if necessary, and renewed civil war seemed imminent. But, as Monk advanced, many joined him. They included Fairfax, the old parliamentary commander and victor at Naseby, whose unstained record gave him great influence. There could be no doubt that public opinion was with Monk and against the army. Lambert's force melted away, and on February 3rd, 1660, Monk marched into London.

A free Parliament effects the Restoration, 1660.—There was still danger that civil war might break out, and this Monk, a cool, resolute soldier, was determined to prevent. It was easy now to read the wishes of the nation. Though as yet hardly any one dared to speak openly for a king, a king was what the great mass of Englishmen desired. Monk's first important step was to restore the Rump which the army had so recently dismissed. It rewarded him with the post which Cromwell had held, that of captain-general. A little later, he called the surviving members of the Long Parliament, whom "Pride's Purge" had expelled, to join the Rump, but first he pledged the Parliament to agree to a new election, in which the people, royalists included, should be free to express their wishes. Accordingly, in March, 1660, the Long Parliament, after an existence of twenty eventful and stormy years, voted to end its own life; and England was called upon to choose a Parliament to settle the constitution of the state. There was an amazing outburst in favour of a king, and within a month the new Parliament had voted to bring back Charles II.

The Declaration of Breda, 1660.—Before this final step was taken, it was necessary to secure a statement from Charles as to what he would do when he had power in his hands. In consequence, before he set out for England, he issued from Breda, in Holland, where he was living, the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised four chief things: the army would be paid all its arrears in full; claims in regard to the lands of royalists which had been

seized, claims which the Cavaliers were pressing, should be settled by Parliament; freedom of religious opinion should be allowed to all whose views did not disturb the peace of the nation; an Act of Amnesty should be passed under which no one should suffer in life, liberty, or property, for recent political events, unless Parliament specially exempted him from the benefits of the Act. The Declaration involved a definite retreat from the position of Charles I; for it promised a more liberal church policy than his. Moreover, it gave not the king, but Parliament, the right to settle questions of property, and to name those deserving punishment for acts of rebellion against the late king.

TOPICS

I. How was England governed after the execution of Charles I? The chief features of the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland. What events in Scotland led to Cromwell's victory at Worcester? Why did the Dutch object to the Navigation Act?

II. Why did Cromwell expel the Long Parliament? Compare Cromwell's position as protector under the "Instrument of Government" with that under the "Humble Petition and Advice."

III. What did Blake effect as a naval leader? To what extent did Cromwell support toleration in religion?

IV. Explain how Monk was able to bring about the Restoration.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RESTORATION

1. THE SUPPRESSION OF PURITANISM

Charles II, 1660-1685.—Charles II landed at Dover amid transports of joy. Half-frantic, cheering multitudes lined the last twenty-five miles of the road to London. Seldom has enthusiasm been more real. Cromwell's army, now controlled by Monk, and drawn up fifty thousand strong on Blackheath, raised no note of dissent. Charles II was restored at the age of thirty. He was tall and swarthy, with a sensuous face, an active and vigorous body, and a powerful, though indolent, mind. Time was to show that, while affable and witty, he was also selfish and cruel. The wandering life of a king deprived of his crown had proved injurious to his character; he revealed to his subjects a slackness in morals that shocked all sober English people. In business matters he was very shrewd; he took a keen interest in plans to promote English commerce; the traders, an important class, found him their friend. So also did the men of science. Charles had seen much of the world and had learned to be wary and prudent. Whatever happened, he said, he should not go again on his travels, and he meant by this that, unlike his less able, but more conscientious, father, he was ready to yield a principle in order to keep his throne. At heart he was as



CHARLES II (1630-1685)

much of a despot as his father, but, on reaching London, he readily gave renewed assent to Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and other measures which limited the king's power.

Severity against the Puritans.—With Charles once seated on the throne, a bitter spirit of revenge soon became manifest. Parliament refused amnesty to all who had had a share in the death of Charles I, and named half a dozen other persons to whom no mercy should be shown. The restored monarchy was guilty of petty vindictiveness. The dead body of Cromwell was taken from its resting-place in Westminster Abbey, and hanged on a gallows at Tyburn with every mark of indignity; the remains of Pym and Blake were cast into a pit. Thirteen of the "regicides," men who had voted for the king's death, were executed as traitors. Charles himself witnessed some of the executions, and seemed to find pleasure in watching the horrors of hanging, drawing, and quartering, that went with a traitor's death. Sir Henry Vane was a man of blameless life and of great influence. He had had no share in the death of Charles I, but he did not hesitate to say that he thought England should be a republic. Charles II was afraid that Vane might lead some movement against him, and through this fear, rather than on account of anything Vane had done, let him go to execution in 1662. The promise of amnesty was, it is clear, not interpreted in any mild sense.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661-1678.—The so-named Convention Parliament, which restored Charles II, had not been regularly summoned by royal mandate, and it gave place, early in 1661, to a regular Parliament called by the king. The outgoing assembly, consisting largely of Presbyterians, had shown a moderate spirit. In the new House all this was changed. Nine tenths of the members were ardent Cavaliers, relentlessly bent on punishing their former oppressors, and on making their recovery of power impossible. Even the Presbyterians, though they had aided in the recall of Charles II, now had little weight in the

Parliament, and, as it was not dissolved for eighteen years, they were impotent during the reign. Cromwell's soldiers went back to civil life, where they won respect by their honest industry, and did credit to the memory of their great leader. Yet the Cavaliers still feared these trained soldiers, many thousand strong, and in the prime of life. These fears, however, were groundless. No revival of the cause of Pym and Hampden was really possible, for the link between Puritanism and Parliament was at last broken. Parliament was now filled with a frantic hate of Puritanism, and in its zeal to destroy that system paid no heed to promises of toleration which had been implied in the Declaration of Breda.

The ruin of the Puritan system.—It thus came about that the Restoration brought with it severe repression of all phases of Puritan thought. The Church of England resumed at once its old privileges and supremacy, for legally all measures affecting it, as all other laws, were null and void if they had never secured the legal assent of the king. After years of poverty, persecution, and often of exile, the deprived bishops returned to their sees, vicars and rectors to their parishes. A good many clergy of Presbyterian views were willing to remain in the Church of England, if some toleration of their opinions was allowed. Most of the Presbyterian laymen were satisfied that they had secured the one great object of the struggle, the rights of Parliament, and conformed to the Church of England, intending to work for religious toleration from within. Of the country gentlemen not already pronounced Cavaliers, a large number seem to have followed this course. No longer did they war on bishops, as men of their class, like Hampden and Cromwell, had done, and Puritanism lost with them the social standing which had helped to make it powerful in the time of Charles I. More and more it was to find its chief support in the humbler ranks of society.

The "Clarendon Code."—Charles II had created Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and would have made him, also, his chief minister. Monk, however, was a soldier, not a statesman,

and the man who now really ruled England was Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. He had been one of the members of the Long Parliament who sided with the king; he had



EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF
CLARENDON (1609-1674)

served Charles II in his exile; and now that indolent king laid on his shoulders the chief work of government. Clarendon's mind was narrow; he had most of the prejudices of the Cavalier class; he was devoted to the Church of England and resolved to restore it to its old position. But he wished to appear moderate, and was especially desirous of conciliating the Presbyterians, who had done so much to restore Charles II. He could not, however, control the hot zeal of the Cavalier Parliament.

Had not the Puritans sent an anointed king and an archbishop to the scaffold? Had they not punished any one daring to take part in the services of the Church of England, confiscated its property, driven out its clergy, and brought cruel distress and want to hundreds of Cavalier homes? Would they not do these things again, if they should get the power? The only thing to do, said the Cavaliers, was to crush such enemies. A series of vindictive laws was therefore passed against the Puritans; they are known as the "Clarendon Code," though never quite approved by Clarendon.

The Corporation Act, 1661.—The first repressive law was the Corporation Act, passed in 1661. Its aim was to ruin Puritan influence in the English towns, and it provided that no one should hold any municipal office who would not renounce the Covenant (p. 273), take the sacrament in the Church of England, and declare that it was unlawful, on any plea, to bear arms against the king. As the town corporations sometimes chose members of Parliament, this law was intended to prevent them from choosing a Puritan as their representative.

The Act of Uniformity, 1661.—A good many clergy of Presbyterian views had conformed to the Church of England, and the Cavalier party would give them no peace. Charles himself wished to prevent extreme action in regard to religion. He summoned a conference which was held at the Savoy Palace, in 1661, to arrange, if possible, some of the differences in religion. But the opposing parties could agree on nothing, and it was left to Parliament to decide whether concessions should be made to the Puritans. It decided quickly and severely enough by passing once more, in 1661, an Act of Uniformity, framed to carry out the old policy of the Tudors and of Laud to enforce conformity to the national church.

The expulsion of Puritan clergy, 1662.—The Act required all those holding office in the church to declare their complete approval of everything in the Book of Common Prayer. This struck hard the clergy of Presbyterian views, who were willing to remain in the Church of England, if left free to try to change from within some of the things which they disliked. They were now told that they must go out if they desired any changes, and were given until St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1662, to make up their minds. Deep was the searching of heart of many of the clergy, who had the choice of declaring entire approval of the Anglican system, or of giving up their sphere of work, their homes and their incomes, to go into poverty and to face much suffering. It shows the sincerity of their convictions, that a great many, it is said two thousand, went out.

The Conventicle Act, 1664; the Five Mile Act, 1665.—In 1664 was passed the Conventicle Act. The law could not forbid private family worship, but it now provided that if more than five persons, exclusive of the members of a family, were present at a religious meeting or "conventicle," each person present was liable to a fine of £5 or three months' imprisonment; for the second offence the penalty was doubled; for the third it was £15, or transportation for seven years, and to return to England without leave was punishable with death. The expelled ministers were thus

unable to conduct any kind of public worship. In order also to keep them from exercising personal influence, Parliament passed, in 1665, the Five Mile Act, by which a minister or teacher who did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity, or who refused to take an oath not to resist the existing authority, was forbidden, under a penalty of £40 for each offence, to come within five miles of his former scene of labour or of any important town or city. No one might teach a school, or even receive lodgers, who was not ready to say on oath that it was unlawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king.

The harrying of the Nonconformists.—Such was the Clarendon Code. It seems to have been thought that nonconformity could be destroyed by a few years of rigour. The church authorities paid as much as £15 for proof of the holding of nonconformist meetings, and had in their service an army of spies. By these the prisons were kept full; it was at this time that John Bunyan spent many years in Bedford Jail. But Puritanism was not destroyed. Religious convictions were in reality deepened by the persecutions. Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist ministers eluded the law by going from house to house and teaching and comforting their people in private. The "Quakers" simply defied the law. They met and often sat in silence. If ejected, they came back, as soon as they could do so, and sat on with open doors. If their meeting-house was destroyed, they met in the open air. Hundreds were sent to jail; but the others went on fearlessly, and, in the end, did much to teach the government that toleration, if not a duty, was a necessity.

Parliament claims to control public expenditure—Little as it pleased Charles, the Restoration left the king in a position different from that which Charles I had struggled to keep. The ideal of Charles I was that the king should conduct the government and leave with Parliament only the power to make laws and vote taxes. But now, from the first, it was clear that Parliament, in spite of its clamorous loyalty, intended to carry out a policy sometimes sharply

opposed to that of the king. Parliament was ready, indeed, to leave much power in the king's hands; it was content that he should name his own ministers; at first it was even willing to let him spend as he liked the money which it voted. But it was resolved to control the religious policy of England, and to fight the concessions to Roman Catholics desired by Charles, himself a Roman Catholic at heart. When, too, it found that Charles spent on other things money granted to keep up the fleet, it grew restive and, before many years were over, began to exercise a watchful supervision over the spending of public funds. Elizabeth had treated such revenues as her own property, but had spent them with strict economy. Charles was boundlessly extravagant. It is alleged that he gave one corrupt woman at his court £136,000 in a single year, and the Parliament grew ever more alert to watch his use of public money.

War with Holland, 1664-1667.—England and Holland had fought on the sea, under Cromwell, and the struggle was renewed under Charles II, who had a real desire to see England the great commercial state of the time. Without waiting for a declaration of war, the English, in 1664, seized the Dutch colony in America called New Netherlands. In honour of Charles's brother James, Duke of York, the colony was renamed New York. Open war with Holland was declared in 1665.

The Great Plague, 1665, and the Fire of London, 1666.—In the midst of this war, two disasters overtook England.



FLEEING FROM THE PLAGUE (a cartoon)

In 1665, a terrible plague swept over London. The pestilence was caused, perhaps, by a prolonged drought, which

left the drainage foul; but some strict people said that the deeper cause was God's anger with a profligate king and with a court where vice was open and shameless. In a single month more than twenty-six thousand people died in London. Every one who could do so, fled from the stricken city. Houses and shops were closed. Grass grew in the deserted streets. The dead were buried at night in great pits, and the plague was not stayed until the cold weather came. In the next year, 1666, London was devastated by a fire, which went on unchecked for days, until two thirds of the city lay in ruins. Perhaps the fire did good, for it swept away many poor streets, and made possible rebuilding on a better scale. In the following summer came a third shock to London. It was the fitting punishment for Charles's course in spending on evil pleasures the money voted for keeping up the fleet. When the Dutch found the Thames almost undefended, they sailed up the river and cut off supplies from the capital, where, for the first time, was heard the roar of foreign guns, so near as to cause a panic. Charles saw that it was time to make peace, and, in 1667, was signed the Treaty of Breda. In spite of disasters, England gained something by the war; for New York was left in her hands. Little did either side imagine the amazing future which lay before that neglected colony.

The dismissal of Clarendon, 1667.
—The Parliament was now anxious to punish some one for the disgrace that had come to England through the misuse of public money, and its anger turned against Clarendon. The blame for other misdoings of the king fell on the minister. Cromwell had actually obliged

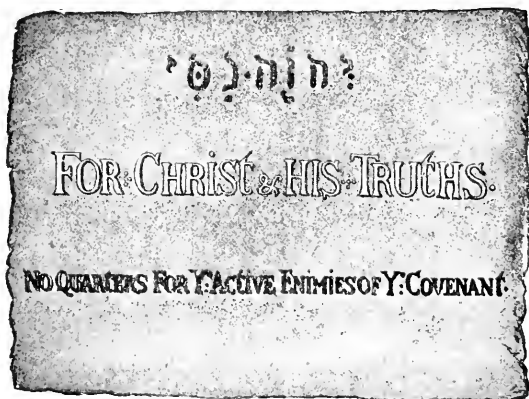


LOUIS XIV OF FRANCE
(1633-1715)

France to cede the seaport of Dunkirk to England (p. 308), and this gave her always a foothold in France, a state of affairs which Louis XIV did not like. So, in 1662, he

persuaded Charles to sell Dunkirk back to him for £200,000. The king pocketed the money, but a London mob howled against Clarendon and declared that he had been bribed by France. Now they said it was his fault, too, that the Dutch war had gone so badly. Charles II was weary of the austere minister who rebuked his vices, and the end was that, in 1667, the Commons impeached him for treason. In danger, as he thought, of his life, he fled to the continent. He spent his remaining years in writing his great history of the Civil War, but he never returned to England.

The persecution of Presbyterians in Scotland.—The Restoration had broken up the union of England with Scotland and Ireland, and these states resumed their former positions, each with a separate Parliament. To Scotland, free trade with England had been profitable. Now this came to an end. In respect to religion, also, there were some disturbing changes. While most of the Scottish people



BANNER CARRIED INTO BATTLE BY SOME OF THE MORE EXTREME COVENANTERS

The Hebrew is "Yahweh Nissi," "Jehovah is my banner" (Ex. xvii, 15).

clung to Presbyterianism, a few who were influential had grown bitter against the narrow bigotry of the ministers. The king, remembering his former deep humiliation in Scotland,

(p. 297), agreed with them and in 1661 this party brought to trial the Presbyterian leader Argyle, for his support of those who had executed Charles I. He had sent the gallant Montrose to the scaffold, and now he himself met a like fate, with two or three other leaders. Again were bishops put in authority in the Scottish Church, and a new and bloody chapter of strife began. Ministers who would not accept the bishops had to give up their churches, and the laws against them were very like those against the nonconformists in England (p. 318). The Scots met this repression by resistance to the death. They revived the signing of the Covenant (p. 274). The ministers, driven from the towns and villages, held their meetings on moors, and hillsides, in glens and secret places. Sometimes the persecuted Covenanters struck back. Archbishop Sharpe of St. Andrews was the chief of the Episcopai party; in 1679 he was brutally murdered on Magus Muir, near St. Andrews. The royal officers met this crime with merciless severity; imprisonment, torture, execution, overtook many of the Covenanters. The Restoration certainly brought no peace to Scotland.

The Restoration in Ireland.—In Ireland the Restoration involved the triumph of English influence. Those who had secured lands in the time of Cromwell were far-sighted enough to welcome the return of Charles II. Their homage to the king and their strength in the Irish Parliament, which now resumed its authority, made it hard to act against them. Charles II was bound by every tie of gratitude to do something for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, many of whom had fought on the royalist side. But, despising Ireland and the Irish as he did, he was not prepared to take much trouble about Irish questions. In the end, the Irish Parliament passed, in 1661, an Act of Settlement, which restored to Roman Catholics their lands, if they had been in no way connected with rebellion against Charles, or his father. Yet the English landowners, Puritan followers of Cromwell, who assuredly had been rebels against Charles I, were to be spared, since they were to receive compensation for the lands which they might give up.

The Coercion of Ireland.—As the event showed, many Roman Catholics found it impossible to prove that they had had no share in the rebellion. They were unable to recover their estates, and about two thirds of the fertile land of Ireland remained in the hands of a small number of Protestants, to whom the native Irish became hewers of wood and drawers of water. English influence was supreme. The Church of Ireland, modelled on the Church of England, was the only one permitted to hold public worship. Its members were less than one tenth of the people, and yet this church levied tithes for its support on the whole population and persecuted Roman Catholics and Presbyterians alike. In every way Ireland was under the heel of England. The English farmer did not like competition, and in 1665 the importation of cattle and horses from Ireland into England was forbidden. Soon meat, butter, and meal were also excluded. Later, when the Irish took to growing wool, they were forbidden to export either the raw wool or manufactured woollen goods. Ireland was not allowed any share in the growing trade with the English colonies. She certainly had a multitude of grievances against her powerful neighbour.

2. PURITAN AND CAVALLIER WRITERS

Milton.—The literature of the period of the Civil War and the Restoration reflects the struggle in religion. Its most famous name is that of John Milton (1608-1674). He was heartily on the side of the Parliament, and became secretary of the Council of State which ruled England after Charles I had met with his tragic fate. Milton plunged deeply into controversy in support of the new republic. His *Areopagitica*, a defence, in an intolerant age, of the freedom of the press, is noble in spirit. His prose is, however, often obscure, and even vulgarly abusive. It is his poetry which is sublime. At twenty-one he wrote his fine *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, and all through life his mind was occupied with the deepest problems of the

relations of God to man. Milton's greatness as a poet lies in the sublimity of his thought, the delicacy of his insight, the music, freedom, and variety of his words and metre. In one respect he is inferior to Shakespeare. He lacks humour. Yet in his *l'Allegro* he pictures the charms of a merry society, while *Il Penseroso* describes the quiet joys of the scholar. These, together with *Comus*, a short drama, of the type known as a masque, produced with music, and *Lycidas*, an elegy on a friend who was drowned, all poems of the highest order, were written when Milton was still a young man. His longest work appeared after the Restoration. By that time he was blind, poor, and regarded with no friendly eye by the Cavalier party. Perhaps he learned his deepest lessons through misfortune. *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667 when the reaction against the Puritans was at its height. The poem describes the war on God by rebel angels in Hell, and Satan's tempting of newly-created man until he loses his place in Paradise. The lofty theme is treated with a sustained majesty of thought which no other English writer has ever equalled. *Paradise Regained* is a less successful attempt to tell the story of man's redemption. Milton's last great poem, *Samson Agonistes*, is a kind of allegory, foreshadowing the final triumph of the Puritan cause.

Bunyan.—With such lofty themes was the Puritan mind occupied. Milton's writings appealed to the educated few. There was, however, a Puritan writer, a man of the people, who wrote on the deep problems of man's destiny in a style so simple that the unlettered could understand. John Bunyan (1628-1688), the son of a tinsmith, served as a private soldier during the Civil War. We see how religious questions had touched the inmost heart of the English people when we find that Bunyan was most deeply stirred by overhearing the conversation on religion of some poor women at Bedford. This was while Cromwell ruled England. Bunyan soon began to preach, and contrived to do so freely enough until Charles II came back. Then he was promptly arrested for preaching without a license. The

Clarendon Code, or any other repressive measures, had no terrors for Bunyan, and he preached in prison or out of prison with little regard to the prohibitions of the law. The result was that he spent about twelve years in jail. He wrote, largely, it is thought, while in jail, his great book *The Pilgrim's Progress* which appeared in 1678. It tells the story of Christian, a pilgrim, on his journey from the City of Destruction to the City of God. The style is simple, and most of the words are monosyllables. Never, however, was book more effective, for Bunyan describes man's struggle against sin with a reality and passion that appeal to all classes. Except the Bible, *The Pilgrim's Progress* has been the most widely read book in the English language.

Cavalier writers.—Of course, there were writers who expressed the cavalier view of life. We find in the days of Charles I a group of poets, such as Richard Lovelace (1618-1658) and Robert Herrick (1591-1674), who dealt chiefly with such topics as the sighs of love, the colour in a maiden's cheek, flowery meadows and running brooks, in a light vein, vividly in contrast with the gravity of Milton. Puritan gravity, indeed, lent itself to ridicule, and Charles II had been but a short time on the throne when Samuel Butler (1612-1680) published anonymously his *Hudibras*, a satire, often coarse and indecent, on Puritan manners, which much pleased the king and his ribald courtiers.

John Dryden.—The most famous anti-Puritan writer is JOHN Dryden (1631-1700). He lived on into a later period, but, already, at the Restoration, his pen was at the service of the king. It is not easy now to estimate the degree of his sincerity. He had written in honour of Cromwell. Under Charles II he wrote his *Religio Laici*, against dissenters and Roman Catholics. Yet he became later a Roman Catholic, when a king of that faith was on the throne. While England was under Puritan rule the theatres had been closed, and it is no wonder that, when they were reopened under Charles II, the plays should depict court, and not Puritan, morals. Dryden was one of the court circle which flattered the king, railed against

the prudery of the Puritans, and wrote the indelicate things that a vicious king delighted to hear. Charles made Dryden poet-laureate in 1670. When, a little later, Charles was carrying on a hot fight with the Whigs, Dryden satirized Shaftesbury and others of the king's enemies in *Absalom and Achitophel*. Instead of inspiration in Dryden we have careful writing. Shakespeare's characters speak in a variety of ways, sometimes in rhyme, more usually in flexible blank verse. Dryden's heroes declaim in stilted rhyme and often with grotesque effect. He argues about religion in rhyme. He is careful to make his meaning lucid, though condensed, and he laid the foundation for the rational, concise, and measured verse that remained the fashion until the death of Pope in the next century. He developed, too, a flexible style in English prose. In striking contrast with the stately and ornate periods of the Elizabethan writers are Dryden's short and clear sentences of from twenty-five to thirty words. Yet, in spite of this perfection of form, both his poetry and his prose now seem commonplace. The circle of readers was much wider than ever before. We find in the time of Charles II the first great booksellers. Jacob Tonson, Dryden's publisher, was able to pay large sums to authors.

Other writers.—This broader interest in letters shows that war and tumult were only half the story of England during her period of civil conflict. In the stormy year 1653, in which Cromwell overthrew the Long Parliament, Isaak Walton (1593-1683) published *The Compleat Angler*, a book which shows the delight of the author in a quiet, country life. Just after the execution of Charles I, Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) wrote *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, books full of a spirit of calm devotion, far removed from the outward strife of the time. In *The Liberty of Prophesying* he pleaded the cause of tolerance. The quarrel about religion and government was leading to the examination of the basis on which society rests. It was in 1651, the year in which Cromwell defeated the Scots at Worcester, that Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) published his *Leviathan*, a work of pro-

found philosophy, written to prove that the ultimate power in a state rests with the people and that, not by divine right, but by popular consent, was authority placed in the hands of a single ruler. John Locke (1632-1704) was another of the thoughtful writers of the time who was showing a better way than that of persecution. We learn again that new corrective forces are at work in what seems the darkest time, when we find John Locke producing in 1667, the hour of triumph of the Clarendon Code, *An Essay Concerning Toleration*, expanded in his later *Letters on Toleration*, which discouraged religious persecution. The influence of such views was felt only slowly but was destined to soften religious strife before the end of the century.

3. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXCLUSION BILL

The Treaty of Dover, 1670.—The first half of the reign of Charles was marked chiefly by the war on the Puritans; in the second we find a violent outburst against the Roman Catholics. In 1669 James, Duke of York, Charles's brother, and the heir to the throne, declared himself a Roman Catholic, and to a few intimate friends Charles now confessed that he held the same faith. A public avowal would, he knew, cause great anger in England, and before taking this step he wished to secure outside support. He found it in Louis XIV of France, the greatest ruler in Europe. At Charles's side there was no longer the incorruptible Clarendon; the king himself governed without consulting any body of ministers. He frequently used as his agents one or other of five men, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, who were nicknamed the Cabal, because their initials spelled that word. They were not in any sense official advisers. One of them, Clifford, was a zealous Roman Catholic, and it was he who chiefly aided in settling the terms of a secret treaty with Louis. By this Treaty of Dover, made in 1670, Charles agreed to act with Louis XIV against Holland; in return Louis was

to pay him a large income, and was to furnish a French army to aid him in forcing the Roman Catholic religion upon England when the time should come. The English people knew nothing of this secret treaty, nor of the real reason why, in 1672, England joined France in an attack upon Holland. French armies invaded that country. But they could not conquer it. When everything else failed, the Dutch leader, William of Orange, afterwards William III of England, opened the dikes and flooded his territory to keep back the armies of Louis XIV.

The Test Act 1673.—Meanwhile, the English began to suspect Charles's designs. It gave them food for thought when he undertook to ease the burdens of the Roman Catholics. This was against the law, but Charles now claimed that he had power to relieve his subjects from the penalties of breaking the law. Accordingly, in 1672, he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which gave to nonconformists liberty of worship. Such tolerance we now regard as essentially just. It freed Puritan as well as Roman Catholic. But in Charles's act the English saw two faults: he had no right to suspend the operation of the law, and he wished toleration chiefly as a step toward making England Roman Catholic. The Protestant nonconformists, reading the king's aims, opposed a step which yet brought them relief from persecution. A temper was quickly aroused before which Charles quailed, and he soon withdrew the Declaration. Fear of the Roman Catholics now took possession of both people and Parliament. Their first step was to drive Roman Catholics from office. In 1673, therefore, Parliament passed the Test Act, obliging every office-holder to take the sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of England, and to make a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. No Roman Catholic could make this declaration, and the Duke of York was consequently obliged to give up all his offices and, in the end, to leave England.

Shaftesbury and the so-called "Popish Plot," 1678.—The man who now came forward as the leader against the policy

of Charles was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. He was one of the Cabal, and, until 1673, had supported the king's policy. But when he learned of the secret Treaty of Dover he took alarm, and gave such strong support to the Test Act that the angry king promptly dismissed him from the post of lord chancellor. Shaftesbury was unscrupulous, but, compared with other leaders of the time, he seemed highly moral. Two principles dominated his conduct: though by no means devout, he favoured religious toleration for all Protestants, and he upheld strongly the rights of Parliament. He feared the designs of the Roman Catholics, and was ready to believe tales that led to a terrible outburst of fanaticism. Titus Oates, a disreputable man, who had somehow become a clergyman in the Church of England, told on oath, in September, 1678, that he had discovered a plot of the Jesuits. They had, he swore, made up a sum of £26,000 to reward persons who should murder the king and other prominent leaders in England, and they intended, by the aid of a French army, to make the Roman Catholic James king. A few days later, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates made his statement, was murdered, possibly by Oates himself, to create a further sensation. Moderate and liberal-minded men were carried away by the fury of suspicion. It was whispered that the Roman Catholics—a small minority in England—were about to burn London and to murder all good Protestants. Parliament believed the story of the plot, and, to protect itself, passed an Act prohibiting Roman Catholics from sitting in either House. Some leading Roman Catholics were thrown into prison on charges made by Oates and others, and the panic fear lasted for about two years. At its base was the dread of foreign invasion, always a bugbear to the English,



ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,
EARL OF SHAFTSBURY
(1621-1683).

and the suspicion that an invading French army would be aided by the English Roman Catholics.

The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.—The stir about a Roman Catholic plot brought to an end the Cavalier Parliament, which had laid such heavy burdens on the Puritans. Anxious to punish some one for the league with France, the Commons impeached, in 1678, the king's chief adviser, the Earl of Danby. They knew, however, that the king himself was at the bottom of the secret treaty. Charles found that, if the Commons pressed the charge, he would also be implicated, and, to avoid this, he dissolved the Parliament in 1679, and thus ended the life of an assembly which had sat for eighteen years, nearly as long as the Long Parliament itself. An election quickly followed, and the new Parliament proved even more resolute than the old one to pursue Danby and to check Roman Catholic influence. In carrying out this policy they adopted an important measure of self-protection. Earlier rulers, Elizabeth and Charles I, for instance, had thrown into prison political leaders who opposed them, and had kept them there during their pleasure. There was now danger that Charles might do this. To make it impossible, Parliament enacted, in 1679, the Habeas Corpus Act. It provided that any person, arrested for an alleged crime, who complained of his arrest, must be brought before a judge within twenty days of his complaint, and discharged on giving proper security to appear in due course for trial. Persons accused of treason or felony were not to be entitled to bail. The Act laid heavy penalties upon any judge who should disregard its terms. Since that time no English ruler has ventured to keep a subject in prison without lawful trial.

“Whigs” and “Tories.”—Charles accepted this bill as he accepted many things he did not like. He allowed Danby to go to the Tower, where he remained for some years. But there was a point beyond which Charles would not yield. The Commons were determined that no Roman Catholic king should rule in England, and pressed an Exclusion Bill, denying to James, Duke of York, any claim to the throne,

because of his faith. Rather than accept the Bill, Charles dismissed the new Parliament in 1679, after it had sat for only a few weeks. At this juncture we note the beginning of the two great political parties. Those who favoured the Exclusion Bill were ready to accept as heir to the throne the young Duke of Monmouth, a son of Charles and Lucy Walters. From the circumstance that they petitioned Charles to call a Parliament, they were spoken of as the Petitioners. The other side professed to abhor a plan that would exclude the Stuart heir, James, from the throne and put Monmouth in his place, and were known as the Abhorrers. Each side gave a nickname to the other. The Petitioners named their opponents Whigs, after a fanatical sect in Scotland, and the Abhorrers were called Tories, a word applied to lawless Irish brigands.

The persecution of Roman Catholics.—The struggle between the two parties was extremely bitter. Shaftesbury, the Whig leader, stooped to use so wretched a creature as Oates against men of high character. Some Roman Catholic peers were arrested for treason, and, when Lord Stafford was brought to trial, in 1680, Oates and other witnesses swore that the Pope had made Stafford the paymaster of the Roman Catholic army which was to conquer England, and that Stafford had tried to hire assassins to kill Charles. There was not a word of truth in this evidence, but, on the strength of it, Stafford was sentenced to death and was executed. No less than thirty-five men went to death on the testimony of Oates. It was a fearful carnival of blood, and the king was, for the time, helpless before the passions of his people.



WILLIAM HOWARD, VISCOUNT
STAFFORD (1612-1680).

The menace of civil war and the flight of Shaftesbury, 1682. Frightened by these accusations against the Roman Catho-

lies, many high-minded Whigs really believed that if James became king, the persecutions of the days of Mary would be revived in England. Party feeling grew intense. Shaftesbury talked, as Pym had talked, of the liberties of England, and even of taking up arms against the king; while Charles was ready to dissolve any Parliament that tried to force its will upon him on the Exclusion question. Civil war was perhaps not far off. When Charles called Parliament to meet at Oxford in 1681, the members brought with them armed followers. They pressed on the Exclusion Bill. But Charles read the times better **than** they did. The rank and file of the nation saw what passion kept Shaftesbury from seeing: if Monmouth should be put on the throne civil war would follow and those loyal to the ancient line would rally round James. Therefore, when Charles again dismissed his Parliament in 1681, the nation was on his side. As a last desperate venture, Shaftesbury proposed to seize the Tower and arcuse Whig London to fight the king. When other leaders would not listen to so foolish a plan, he fled to Holland to avoid arrest for treason, and soon died there. For the last four years of the reign of Charles no Parliament was called.



WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL
(1639-1683)

The Rye House plot, 1683.—To some extreme Whigs, the murder of both Charles and James now seemed the only means of saving England from political tyranny and from the restored power of the Roman Catholic Church. A plot was formed to kill them at a place called the Rye House, as they returned from a visit to Newmarket. The plot was betrayed and never came to anything. It is not likely that Whigs of the better type knew about it, but they had a dangerous foe in Charles, who was now in a cruel and relentless temper. He soon caused Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Essex,

leading Whigs of high family, to be arrested, in 1683, for plotting murder. The evidence of their connection with the Rye House plot was slight, but the Whigs had hounded their foes to death unjustly, and the day of revenge had come. Again, as in the time of Charles I, was life the stake in the game of politics. Essex was found dead in prison, and appears to have committed suicide. Sidney and Russell were both executed. Charles was making himself absolute. Always he had one clear aim,—to rule in his own way. “I care just that for Parliament,” he once said tossing his handkerchief in the air. Now he was in a fair way to carry out his wishes. He interfered in the government of London, a Whig city, and himself named the lord mayor and other officials. He treated many other towns in the same way. But, in the moment of his triumph, he was struck down by a mortal illness. On his death-bed, he no longer concealed his real opinions; he was reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church, and died in that communion in 1685. As the law then stood the priest who received him into the Church had committed a crime for which the penalty was death (p. 227).

TOPICS.

I. Did Charles II pursue a policy of revenge? Why Puritanism was now so weak in England. The chief features of the “Clarendon Code.” Its effect on Puritanism. Was Charles II master of Parliament as Henry VIII and Elizabeth had been? The causes of the fall of Clarendon. Who were the Covenanters? What repressive features do we now find in the government of Ireland?

II. Contrast the literary work of Milton and of Bunyan. Show the effect of Puritanism on Restoration literature.

III. What was the Treaty of Dover? What caused the passing of the Test Act? Account for the excitement about the “Popish Plot.” What led to the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act? Why was the Exclusion Bill pressed? Criticise the Whig leader Shaftesbury. Why were Russell and Sidney executed?

CHAPTER XIV

THE REVOLUTION

1. THE FALL OF JAMES II

James II, 1685-1689.—When Charles died it might well have seemed that he had gained the despotic power which his father had struggled in vain to hold. No Parliament had met for nearly four years, and Charles had complete control of the state. The clergy of the Anglican Church were upholding the view that it was sin to resist the king.



JAMES II
(1633-1701)

Now there came to the throne a ruler who, though lacking the ability of Charles, would assert every right that Charles had seemed to gain. The outlook on life of James II was prejudiced and narrow, but he was energetic, sober, and industrious, a tender father to his children, always true to his friends, and beloved by his servants. He had adopted the Roman Catholic faith of his mother, and now the chief aim of his life was to free his co-religionists from their bur-

dens and to bring England back to his creed. James was obstinate and without tact. For more than a century it had been illegal to celebrate mass in England; yet, soon after coming to the throne, James attended mass with official pomp, in open defiance of the law. He took summary vengeance on the man who had wrought such injury to Roman Catholics. Titus Oates was convicted of perjury and flogged with such severity that it amounted almost to

flaying alive. Yet he recovered, and lived to receive a pension under William III.

Monmouth's rising, 1689.—James was soon called upon to defend his throne by force of arms. Monmouth, exiled by his father, Charles II, now claimed to be the lawful king. He landed in Dorsetshire in June, 1689, with a few followers, assumed the title of king, denounced James as a usurper, and set a price upon his head. Monmouth called himself the champion of Protestantism. Some thousands of peasants joined him, but, as Charles II had seen quite clearly, the nation would not have Monmouth to rule over it. About three weeks after he landed, his force was cut to pieces at Sedgemoor, his peasant followers fighting



JAMES SCOTT, DUKE OF
MONMOUTH (1649-1685)

with great courage against trained regular soldiers. Monmouth, when taken, fell on his knees to beg for life from James, but he was promptly executed. James sent Judge Jeffreys, a man already infamous for his brutal manners, down to the rebel district, where he held what is known as the Bloody Assize. He sent to the scaffold about three hundred persons, granted to courtiers some eight hundred others to be sold as slave labourers in the colonies, and reaped for himself great sums from the fines he imposed. His punishments were cruel, but James, delighted with his triumph over his enemies, rewarded Jeffreys by making him lord chancellor. In Scotland, as in England, the foes of James were overthrown.



GEORGE, BARON JEFFREYS
(1643-1689)

The Earl of Argyle, son of that Argyle who had been executed by Charles II (p. 325), and, like him, a strenuous leader of the Protestant party, had been condemned to death for treason in 1681, but had escaped and gone abroad. In 1685, he tried to arouse Scotland for Monmouth as king: but Scotland, like England, would not have Monmouth; and Argyle was, in the end, taken and executed.

James quarrels with Parliament.—In 1685 all moderate men stood with James. His first Parliament was overwhelmingly Tory and gave him an abundant revenue. But he misread the situation and thought that the Tories would follow words by actions, and obey the king blindly. He went on, therefore, with bold confidence. His first aim was to put Roman Catholics into the public service, a course which the Test Act forbade (p. 331). Brushing aside this Act, James named Roman Catholics to the Privy Council and appointed men of that faith as officers in the army. When Parliament met for a second session in November, 1685, and protested against these breaches of the law, he angrily dismissed it and ruled for the rest of his reign without Parliament.

James puts Roman Catholics into high offices.—James kept up the army which had crushed Monmouth, brought over Roman Catholic regiments from Ireland, and formed a great military camp on Hounslow Heath. The English saw that he was preparing to do what Strafford had planned,—to use an army to overawe opposition. James appointed as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, a Roman Catholic, Richard Talbot, whom he made Earl of Tyrconnell. He drove from office in England leading men who would not change their faith, or do his will. He allowed clergymen who joined the Church of Rome to retain their Anglican benefices. He gave Roman Catholics a footing in the universities. At Oxford he put Roman Catholics at the head of three colleges. When the vice-chancellor of Cambridge refused to confer a degree upon a Roman Catholic, James dismissed him from office. A deputation protested against this, and Jeffreys met them with this threat: "Go

your way and sin no more lest a worse thing happen to you." James was, however, going on with his plans too rapidly, and even the Pope warned him to be careful.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1687.—Strife and suspicion in regard to religion were in the air. In the first year of the reign of James, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes by which Henry IV of France, nearly a hundred years earlier, had granted a limited toleration to his Protestant subjects. When the Edict was revoked, many Protestants fled to England and brought with them tales of terrible suffering. There was a real fear that under a Roman Catholic king English Protestants might soon have similar trials. James, blindly ignoring the angry opposition to his plans, took, in April, 1687, a step which brought on a crisis. Like Charles II he issued a Declaration of Indulgence (p. 331), which ordained that no religious tests should be required from persons holding office, and that restrictions upon the public worship of those who differed from the Church of England should cease. James found that some Protestant nonconformists were ready to support him. The Quakers (p. 310) had always taught that the state ought not to meddle with any one's religion, and their leader, William Penn, who was in James's confidence, now worked hard for a policy of toleration. Nevertheless the great mass of Protestant nonconformists and of Anglicans was intensely hostile to the Declaration of Indulgence.

The trial of the seven bishops, 1688.—Resolved to have his Declaration announced from Anglican pulpits, James issued it a second time, in April, 1688, and ordered the Anglican clergy to read it in their churches on two successive

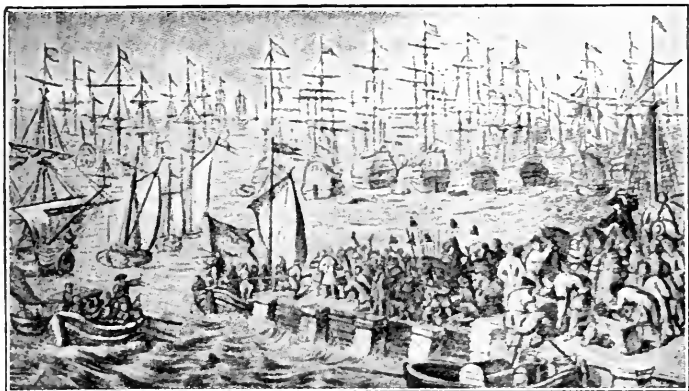


WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718)
The founder of Pennsylvania.

Sundays. James now found a rebellious temper in the most conservative body in England. When Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, with six other bishops, presented to him a petition, which was really a refusal to obey the order, James flew into a rage. The Anglican clergy had long been teaching the duty of obedience to the king, and now these prelates dared to beard him! He declared that, in this petition, the bishops had issued a seditious libel, promptly sent them to the Tower, and, brought them at length to trial. The nation watched the trial of the bishops with intense interest. Would the judges dare to oppose James? Would a jury dare bring in a verdict of "not guilty"? Soon came the answer. A verdict of acquittal was given, and received with a frantic exultation which ought to have revealed to James his danger. Even his soldiers on Hounslow Heath gave a great shout of joy at the news. Just when excitement was high, James's queen bore him a son. His two daughters, Mary and Anne, had been reared as Protestants, but this heir to the throne would be brought up, of course, in the faith which James now held, and the English saw before them the prospect of a succession of Roman Catholic rulers. It was this final fear which promptly brought to a head the opposition to the designs of the king.

Flight of James, 1688.—England thus became ripe for revolution. On the day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, a few leading English statesmen, both Tory and Whig, joined in signing an invitation to William of Orange to come to England. William, the ruler of Holland, was the husband of James's eldest daughter, and was also a grandson of Charles I (see table p. 343). He had become the leader of Europe against the designs of Louis XIV, and was the foremost champion of the Protestant cause. He had tried to prevent the attacks of Monmouth and Argyle on James, and to remain friendly with his father-in-law. But now he was ready to resist James, who would, if successful, probably support the aims of Louis XIV. In September, 1688, William issued a public declaration that he was coming to ensure the holding of a free Parliament in England. His

preparations were extensive. More than five hundred ships, carrying a force of fourteen thousand men, left the shores of Holland. They sailed down the Channel in magnificent array, and, on November 5th, William landed at Torbay, in Devonshire. It looked as if England was once more to see civil war. Few, however, would fight for James. Now, when it was too late, he called a Parliament. As



EMBARKATION OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE AT HELVOETSLUYS

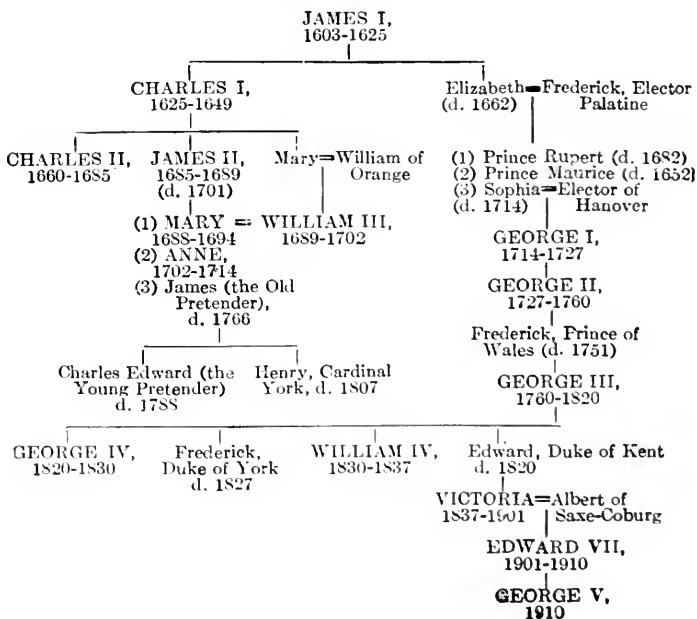
William slowly advanced toward London, James's followers, including even his own daughter Anne, deserted him, and he was in fear for his own life. His mind turned to France, with whose aid he felt sure of re-establishing his power, and, sending thither the queen and her infant son, he prepared to follow them. When he first tried to escape some fishermen stopped him, and he was brought back to London. But William wished him to go, and on Christmas Day, 1688, James landed in France, a fugitive from his realm of England.

2. THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

The Convention Parliament deposes James, 1689.—With the flight of James II a great crisis had come. The only

power that could now speak for England was the Parliament. Was James still king or had he forfeited the crown? If he was no longer king, who should be named to take his place, and what terms should Parliament make with the new ruler? William of Orange had not come to depose James. He came, as he had declared, to help the English to secure a free Parliament which should end misgovernment; he came, too, in the hope of enlisting England on his side in the war with France. No legal Parliament existed, and, without a king, there was no one who could legally call one. William did the best thing possible. He summoned the Lords and all those who had sat in the Commons under Charles II. They advised that an election should be held for a convention

THE GENEALOGIES OF THE HOUSES OF ORANGE AND HANOVER



which was to be a Parliament in everything but the name. The convention met and acted promptly. The Marquis of Halifax, who prided himself on being neither Whig nor Tory but a Trimmer, one prepared so to throw his weight as to trim the boat in a time of danger, presided in the Lords, and it was he who shaped the revolution. The convention declared that James had forfeited the crown by his flight, and that a new sovereign must be named. Gossip declared that the infant son of James II was, in reality, a changeling (p. 340). Since Mary was, in such case, heiress to the throne, some wished to name her queen, with William as her consort. William declined, however, to be "gentleman usher" to his wife, and, in the end, William and Mary were declared king and queen, the survivor to rule alone, and the executive power to rest with William while he lived.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.—The Whigs insisted that Parliament should draw up a statement of the rights of the nation which James had violated, and William and Mary accepted this Declaration of Rights. Then the crown was offered to them, and the revolution was complete. When a regular Parliament was summoned in 1689, the Declaration of Rights was turned into a formal Bill of Rights, which defines as emphatically as the formal clauses of an Act of Parliament can define them, the fundamental liberties which the nation asserted at this time.

1. The king cannot dispense with or suspend the laws.

2. The king cannot levy any taxes without the consent of Parliament.

3. The king cannot keep a standing army in time of peace except by consent of Parliament.

4. Subjects may freely petition the king.



WILLIAM III (1650-1702)

5. Parliaments are to be held frequently and elections must be free. Members must have free speech in Parliament without being called to account for their words in any other place.

6. William and Mary are declared king and queen. Failing children to Mary, the crown is to pass to her sister Anne, and to her heirs. No Roman Catholic, and no one who is married to a Roman Catholic, can inherit the crown of England.

The last clause shows how bitterly the nation resented the tactless course of James in regard to religion. It marks also the end of the theory of divine right, urged so strongly by the Stuarts. Parliament, now supreme, sets up a king and says who may and who may not succeed him. Each of the other clauses touches a real evil felt during the tyranny of James. The claims made in respect to government are moderate enough. It will be noted that, while Parliament reserved the sole right to grant money, it did not yet claim the right to spend it too, or in any way to control the king in his choice of his ministers.

It could, if it liked, refuse money, and this was enough; no king could long defy a body which possessed this power.

The Toleration Act, 1698.—

Next in importance to the political was the religious question. It so happened that there were soon a number of vacant bishoprics to fill. When an oath of allegiance to the new ruler was required of all officials in church and state. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, six other bishops, and about three hundred clergy, refused it on the ground that



MARY II (1662-1694)

they had taken a similar oath to James and were bound by it as long as he lived. Nothing could shake their

resolution, and they were at last deprived of their places. The singular body of Non-jurors which they formed did not die out until 1805. Thus it came about that William was free to choose an Archbishop of Canterbury who would work for religious peace. He appointed Tillotson, a man of liberal views, and named men of like mind to other sees. The time had come to grant freedom of worship to the Protestant nonconformists. Puritan and Anglican, opposed in the state and on the battlefield for so many years, had now stood side by side against the plans of James. So one of the first things that Parliament did in 1689 was to pass a Toleration Act, which gave to all Protestants full rights of public worship. The repressive policy of Whitgift and of Laud came at last to an end. Yet the old fires still burned. An attempt to repeal the Test Act (p. 330), which required all office-holders to conform to the Anglican Church, failed. So also did a Comprehension Bill which would have so broadened the Church of England as to permit the inclusion of the more moderate nonconformists. Instead, we find now the system, which still endures, of one church closely linked with the state, while other Protestants are free to maintain their own systems. The Roman Catholic Church, for the sake of which James had lost his throne, was still severely coerced. It did not gain full liberty for more than a hundred years.

3. THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

Battle of Killiecrankie, 1689.—While England was settling down, without war, under its new king and queen, forces were at work in Scotland and in Ireland, which led to bloodshed. Scotland, with its people intensely Protestant, had disliked the rule of James even more than had England. William called a Scottish convention. In it the Jacobites—the adherents of James—were powerless, and, in due course, William and Mary were proclaimed rulers of Scotland. The Presbyterian Church became now the national church of Scotland, and the persecuted covenanting ministers came back to their parishes. Many of the upper classes, and

of the common people of the north, resented this triumph of the Presbyterians, and were still willing to fight for the



**JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE,
VISCOUNT DUNDEE**
(1649?-1689)

cause of a church ruled by bishops. The Stuart house had also devoted friends proud of the royal line which the Scots had given to England. Open war broke out. Graham of Claverhouse, whom James II made Viscount Dundee, gathered an army in the Highlands. William's general, Mackay, marched against him, and a fierce battle took place at Killiecrankie in 1689. The charge of the Highlanders carried all before it, but Dundee was killed, and his death left the Jacobites

without a leader. William could now rely upon the fiery zeal of the Covenanters to crush out opposition, and, by 1691, the cause of James in Scotland was lost.

The massacre of Glencoe, 1692.—Then came a cruel deed, which remained a bitter memory. The Highland chiefs were given until January 1st, 1692, to take the oath of allegiance to William, under severe penalties if they failed. Nearly all took the oath. William's secretary in Scotland, Viscount Stair, was anxious to wipe off an old score against some of the clans, and when Mac Ian, chief of a small clan of Macdonalds, detained, it is said, by snow, did not come in to take the oath within the time named, Stair planned a savage vengeance. William was then in Flanders. Stair sent over for his signature a warrant to extirpate the rebellious clan at Glencoe and, as some allege, William signed the order without reading it. Then Stair sent a troop of one hundred and twenty men, under a Campbell, to the remote vale of Glencoe. His orders were to destroy every one under seventy years of age. The soldiers were received as friends. They lodged with the Macdonalds for some two

weeks until suspicion was lulled. Then one night the signal for destruction was given. Thirty-eight persons were butchered; the rest escaped to the mountains. A cry of horror at the treacherous massacre went up all over Scotland. In the end William dismissed Stair, but the memory of Glencoe long served to keep alive hatred of the revolution among the Jacobites. That so much was made of it shows how times had changed; in earlier feuds such an incident would have been thought petty and would have been little noticed. One explanation of this change is that the Scots, occupied for one hundred and fifty years with religious strife, were now thinking of other things. In 1695, the whole nation was keenly aroused by a project to found a great colony on the Isthmus of Darien, and men signed subscriptions for stock, as before they had signed the Covenant. Scotland was passing into a new world of thought.

The Irish Parliament of James, 1689.—In Ireland the religious views of James II appealed to the masses of the people, and he resolved to make the island a base for an attack on William. Early in 1689, he went there with a French army. For about a year most of the country was in his hands. He called a Parliament at Dublin, in May. In it, naturally, the Roman Catholics were now supreme; and they proceeded at once to redress their many wrongs. They passed laws restoring to Irish owners the lands seized since 1641. The English who had bought, in good faith, any of the lands so seized, were to be compensated, and, to provide money to pay them, the lands of some two thousand of William's supporters in Ireland were declared forfeited.

The siege of Londonderry, 1689.—The Irish tasted for a brief time the sweets of success against their old oppressors. But reverses soon came. Londonderry, in the north, held out against James. His forces surrounded the town on the landward side, and prevented relief from the sea by placing a strong boom across the river Foyle. But the city would not surrender. When the heart of the soldiers quailed, civilians manned the feeble walls. Out beyond the boom,



English ships hovered for weeks, but could not pass that obstacle. At last, one of them sailed upon it at full speed, broke it by the terrific shock, and thus opened a way for bringing in supplies. The siege having failed, James withdrew his army southward.

Battle of the Boyne, 1690-1691 and Pacification of Limerick, 1691.—In the summer of 1690 William himself, having delayed, as many thought, too long, went to Ireland, and in July met his father-in-law at the battle of the Boyne. The result was the crushing defeat of James. He soon departed from Ireland, leaving his general, Sarsfield, in command. The lost cause made an heroic defence of Limerick, but nothing could save it. By the Pacification of Limerick, October, 1691, William gave the Irish soldiers the choice of enlisting under him or of going into exile. Nearly all chose exile, and left behind thousands of destitute wives and children. Triumphant Protestantism then worked its will in Ireland. Though William had promised, at Limerick, mild treatment to those accepting his rule, the Irish Parliament, now wholly Protestant, was not prepared to adhere to these terms. It passed severe laws aimed at the entire repression of the opposing faith. None of its adherents might be armed. Its bishops and clergy were banished. No Roman Catholic might teach a school, and, on pain of forfeiting their property, parents might not send children abroad for Roman Catholic instruction. The priest who married a Roman Catholic to a Protestant was to be hanged. A Roman Catholic might not even keep a valuable horse, for he must sell any horse he possessed to a Protestant who offered for it as much as five guineas. Under these and similar laws the desolate country settled down to a century of oppression, so cruel as now to seem incredible.

English naval defeat at Beachy Head, 1690.—While William was absent in Ireland in 1690, Louis XIV saw a chance to invade England. His fleet of eighty sail won a notable victory when attacked by a combined Dutch and English fleet of some sixty sail off Beachy Head. The

Dutch were in the van; their ships bore the brunt of the fight; and, when the Dutch were beaten, the English fled disgracefully. The French landed in England and burned Teignmouth in Devonshire. For a time the outlook was serious. It was soon clear, however, that the English would unite against the French invader, and Louis withdrew his force.

Final ruin of James's cause at La Hogue, 1692.—In 1692 Louis made a last effort to help James, and gathered at La Hogue a great fleet. The English and the Dutch, keen to wipe out the disgrace of Beachy Head, attacked it, and James himself watched the struggle from the French shore. It was his last hope, and the issue was not less critical than when Philip's Armada threatened England. When the French lost the day, James went back to the palace of St. Germain, in which Louis had lodged him, and soon abandoned all thought of a restoration. His later years showed the sincerity of his faith. He thanked God that he had been willing to give up an earthly for a heavenly crown. To the last he exhorted his heir to cling to his faith even at the cost of the English throne.

4. THE SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT

William III, 1689-1702.—With the success of La Hogue, William and Mary were secure on the throne. In appearance and temperament they formed a vivid contrast. He was small, reserved, and sickly; she, large, voluble, full of animation. "The king thinks all, the queen says all, the Parliament does all," said a contemporary wit. Mary was a noble-hearted woman, the best of all the Stuarts, and gave to her husband a tender affection. William, on the other hand, was reserved and preoccupied, and he sometimes treated his wife harshly. His hold upon his new subjects was slight. He did not understand English prejudices. He made intimate friends of Dutchmen only, and could not conceal his preference for Holland over England. We can hardly wonder then that the English had no love for

him. Yet it was this pale and haggard man, with cold and unsympathetic manners, worn with asthma and almost an invalid, who piloted Europe through a terrible crisis. Louis XIV was resolved to make France supreme in Europe and, to do it, must first conquer Holland. To check France was William's life work. As a general he was little more than a clever amateur; he never won a great victory in the open field, and he suffered many defeats. Yet his tenacity made the victories of his enemies useless, and he succeeded in checking France in the face of crushing difficulties.

The Mutiny Bill, 1689 and the Triennial Bill, 1694.—One chief difficulty related to the army. Engaged as he was in a desperate struggle with France, William required a standing army. Here he came face to face with one of the deepest prejudices of his people. The Tories remembered that a standing army under Cromwell had held the nation in its iron grasp, the Whigs that James II, having raised an army to crush Monmouth, had kept it to menace English liberty. If there must be a standing army, Parliament was resolved to control it. The vital thing in an army is the power of the officers to enforce discipline. Special powers of discipline were needed in 1689, when some troops broke out into mutiny against going on service abroad. To meet the need, Parliament then passed a Mutiny Bill giving army courts power to punish mutiny and desertion with death. Parliament granted these powers for only six months at a time; if they were not revived at the end of that period, the soldiers were free to desert and the officers could not punish them. The plan, of course, gave control of the army to Parliament, and the system thus begun has remained in force. Since that date the power of discipline has been granted by Parliament for only one year at a time; were this Army Bill not renewed year by year the army could not exist. The provision serves the further purpose of checking attempts by the king to rule without calling Parliament as the Stuarts did; for if he is to have an army, he must meet Parliament at least once a year, in order that it may renew the Army Bill. There was

another danger,—that, having a Parliament to his taste, he might keep it too long, as Charles II had done when he retained a Parliament for eighteen years. To make such a course impossible, the Triennial Bill was passed in 1694 limiting the life of a Parliament to three years, and providing also that three years must not pass without a Parliament.

The beginning of the cabinet system.—Such steps show that the time had come when a king could do little without the support of Parliament. Yet Parliament was torn by faction, and it was not easy to learn the mind of its several hundred members. No one could tell on one day what the Houses would do on the next. To make sure of support, William chose as advisers those who had influence in the two Houses. It then became their business to pass the measures upon which they had advised the king. In the end William took his ministers almost wholly from the party strongest in the House of Commons. From 1693 to 1699 England was ruled by a small group of Whig statesmen, known as the “Junto,” who had behind them the steady support of their party. The Junto really marks the beginning of the cabinet system of government; that is to say, government by party leaders rather than by the king. It was clear now that the king could do only what his advisers would support. He must, therefore, accept the policy of the dominant party. Thus the cabinet, instead of the king, came in time to direct the government.

The founding of the Bank of England, 1694.—In finance William had to accept such control. His predecessors had been granted a revenue for life, but, much to his disgust, he was granted £700,000 a year for four years only, and was required to account to Parliament for the spending of the money. William needed great sums. Cromwell had strained England's financial power by spending £2,000,000 in one year on the army and navy. In time of war, William was granted £5,000,000 in a single year, and, in addition, he piled up huge deficits, amounting at the end of the reign to £20,000,000. The nation could not meet these obligations from its current income, and as the result, the national debt

now began. The loans were advanced by a new institution created especially for the purpose. Hitherto England had had no bank, but in 1694, at the suggestion of a Scot, William Paterson, the Bank of England was founded. It lent the government £1,200,000 at eight per cent. and the moneyed classes, who were chiefly Whigs, furnished the necessary capital. The bank, indeed, had the important political effect of pledging possessors of wealth to the support of William's government. Such debts, it was certain, James would never acknowledge. Now, too, the coinage was at last reformed. Debased coins had been a curse of earlier days (p. 213), and had made prices uncertain. In 1696 Montagu, William's treasurer, used the milled edge for coins, and thus stopped the clipping of small pieces of silver or of gold from the edge.

The Peace of Ryswick, 1697.—A lull in the war came in 1697, when France made the Peace of Ryswick, giving up the conquests she had made during the war, and acknowledging William as king, with Anne, Mary's sister, as his successor. Mary herself had died childless in 1694. After the Peace of Ryswick, William wished to keep up a considerable army; for he saw clearly that war was more likely to break out again if England seemed weak. But he could not dispel the English fear of military rule. After the peace, Parliament reduced the army to ten thousand men, and insisted further that the Dutch, Irish, and Scottish soldiers, who had fought in William's wars, should be dismissed, and only the English retained. William's comment was bitter. At one blow, he said, Parliament itself had ruined England as a military power, a result which Louis XIV had not been able to accomplish by eight years of war. Yet, though he threatened to abdicate, and actually prepared a farewell speech, Parliament would not yield.

The Spanish succession.—William's fears were justified. Louis XIV, seeing this disarmament, thought that he could defy William, and he actually did so when a great European question arose. Charles II, the last king of Spain of the Hapsburg line, died childless in 1700. The

prospect of this event had long been a kind of nightmare to Europe. Louis XIV had married Charles's sister, and since the issue of this marriage became the next in the line of succession to the throne of Spain, the dire prospect lay before William and other rulers that France and Spain might be united under the Bourbons of France, and be strong enough to dominate Europe. Protests from Europe had led Louis XIV to renounce the Bourbon rights in Spain on certain conditions. Now, however, when Charles II died, and his will was found to name as his heir Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, Louis was tempted and fell. He accepted the terms of the will, and the Bourbon prince became king of Spain, as Philip V.

Death of William III, 1702.—Louis soon defied William in another way. When James II died in 1701, Louis, who had admitted William's rights, promptly recognized James's son as king of England. By this reckless act the nation was stirred to its depths, and, for the time, Whig and Tory forgot their differences. Parliament voted William forty thousand soldiers and forty thousand sailors. But, before the long and bloody War of the Spanish Succession broke out, William was no more. Early in 1702, he fell from his horse and died shortly afterwards as the result of the accident. At Mary's death, in 1694, the national sorrow had been deep. William, however, was little regretted. He had proved, perhaps, the best ruler of England since the days of Elizabeth, but the nation could never forgive him for being a foreigner.

The freedom of the press, 1695.—We see forces working in the reign of William that point to the dawn of the modern era. The press, which had been under strict censorship, now became free. In 1662, when there was fear that the Puritans might plot to overthrow Charles II, a Licensing Act had been passed putting all printing under control of the government. Only at London, York, and the two universities, might anything be printed, and the number of master printers was limited to twenty. A licenser must approve of everything to be issued. This law, which was to be in force until 1679, was harshly used to check anything not

strictly in harmony with the narrow policy of the Clarendon Code. In 1679 it was renewed, but when the time came for the second renewal, in 1695, Whig influence was supreme, the censor had made himself unpopular, and the Commons would not renew the Act. Thus the censorship of the press ceased to exist.

The Act of Settlement, 1701.—The judges were now placed in an independent position. Formerly, they had been paid chiefly by fees, and had been removable at the king's pleasure; but the Act of Settlement, 1701, provided that they should be paid fixed salaries, and that they could be removed only for some crime, or by a vote of both Houses of Parliament. In earlier times the king had often forced the judges to do his will; now he had no control over them. The same Act of Settlement made provision for the succession. James's daughter, Anne, was to succeed William. She had married Prince George of Denmark, but as all her children had died in childhood, it was necessary to look elsewhere for a successor to the throne. Parliament now gave the right of succession to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, the next Protestant in the royal line (see table p. 343). Henry VIII had dictated to Parliament as to his successor; Parliament now named the ruler; the claim to divine right was shattered indeed!

5. THE REIGN OF ANNE

Anne, 1702-1714.—Anne, a simple-minded, dull, obstinate, but well-meaning woman, succeeded William at a time when there were heavy clouds of war. The last ruling queen, the great Elizabeth, had been able herself to do little to meet the dangers of the Spanish war, and Anne was not fitted to grapple with such problems. So it came about that the rule of a woman at this time only served to make clear the final passing of authority to Parliament. Anne's subjects called her "Good Queen Anne." She was devoted to the Church of England, and the bishops whom she named were men of high character. We now hear much of high and low church,

high church still fighting to coerce dissent, low church to broaden toleration. There can be no doubt that the nation



ANNE (1665-1714)

at large was weary of religious strife; but leaders still used the old cries to stir up party loyalty. Anne herself was high church and Tory in her sympathies. She had the Stuart faith that there was a certain magic in royalty. Superstitious people still believed that the royal touch would cure scrofula, "the king's evil." Profligate Charles II had wrought these wonders. William had jeered at the practice, but Anne gave the royal touch with solemn ceremonial.

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.—Before William died he had made a Grand Alliance with Austria and Holland, the chief aims of which were to secure Holland against France, and to make impossible the union of the crowns of France and Spain. War was declared in 1702, a terrible war, which lasted until 1713, and was only less bloody than the long struggle with Napoleon just one hundred years later. For the first time since the victory of Henry V at Agincourt, English soldiers, and an English general, won great battles on the continent of Europe. The general was John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, a man of surpassing military genius. His character was not heroic. He had tried to stand well with both the deposed James II and with William III, and when William was at war with France had given secret information to the enemy. On the other hand, his courtesy and tact saved the Grand Alliance, in which petty German princes, narrow Dutch burghers, and great states, like Austria and England, must be held together for many long years. Under him the art of war assumed a new meaning. The weight of his cavalry charge, his bold disregard of

military traditions, his far-seeing strategy, enabled him to strike such fearful blows that he shattered for the time the military power of France.

The battle of Blenheim, 1704.—In 1704 Marlborough saw that the French were planning to attack Vienna, hoping there to dictate terms to Austria. Though his Dutch allies, who thought of little but their own frontiers, disliked the plan, he made a rapid dash across Germany, joined Prince Eugene, the brilliant Austrian leader, and in the end was able to attack a French and Bavarian force of some fifty-eight thousand men with an army nearly equal in numbers. The French had the advantage of position. They were drawn up with their right in the little village of Blenheim on the Danube, and their line stretched five or six miles across a valley to wooded hills on the left. Three times did Marlborough assault Blenheim only to be driven back. Twice was his cavalry charge on the French centre repulsed. Suddenly, with the insight of genius, he gathered his force for a supreme charge on the French centre. It broke and took to flight, and thousands of the French were driven into the Danube and drowned. In the battle of Blenheim they lost more than thirty thousand men. France had not met with such a defeat for a century.

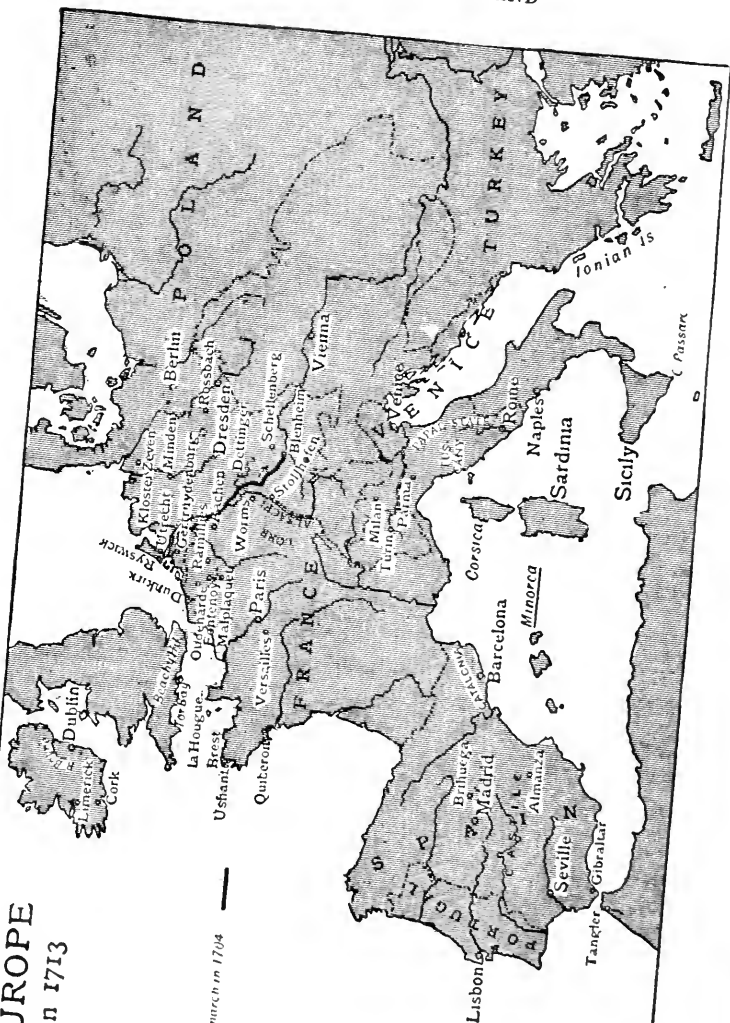


JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH (1650-1722)

Marlborough's victories.—In the same year, the Earl of Peterborough invaded Spain and overran half of that country. An English fleet captured Gibraltar, which has remained a British possession ever since. Marlborough was soon advancing to assault Paris itself. The French fought desperately to check him, but he won three brilliant victories, Ramilies in 1706, Oudenarde in 1708, Malplaquet in 1709. By these successes Marlborough

EUROPE in 1713

Marborough's treaty in 1713



reached the very summit of military glory. It was, however, sanguinary work. At Malplaquet twenty thousand of Marlborough's men were slaughtered before he drove back the starving French troops, who barred his way to Paris. He prayed that never again might he see the carnage of battle. Malplaquet proved, indeed, his last great contest.

The Scottish Darien colony.—Amidst the party strife of the time and these scenes of war, we are hardly prepared for a political measure of far-reaching wisdom—the union of England and Scotland. Trade, rather than religion, was becoming the foremost interest in political life. Though Scotland and England had the same king, Scotland remained a separate realm, shut out from trade with the English colonies and India. The Scots were resolved to have colonies of their own, and, with keen enthusiasm, they took up, in 1695, a plan to found a great colony at Darien, now Panama, where they might command trade on both the Atlantic and the Pacific, and rival England in America and India (p. 347). William Paterson, who founded the Bank of England, was the chief organizer of the colony. He was better as banker than as colonist. The vessels sent out in 1698 were laden with many things useless in a tropical country, such as great periwigs and heavy woollen cloth. Hundreds of colonists began a town at Darien called New Edinburgh. But Spain claimed the whole region, and prepared to send a fleet to seize the colony. When tropical diseases broke out, the colonists who escaped these maladies sailed away in panic. In 1699 thirteen hundred fresh colonists arrived at the deserted spot. A Spanish fleet arrived too, and, in the end, the Scots yielded to the Spaniards and the remnant of the colony returned home.

The union of England and Scotland, 1707.—Little as such a result seemed likely, it was the failure of the Darien colony that brought to a head plans for the union of Scotland and England. For the moment the Scots were bitterly angry with England. She, it was charged, had inspired Spain to ruin Darien that the Scots might not become her

rivals in trade. In its rage the Scottish Parliament took steps that meant complete separation from England. Its Act of Security passed in 1704 provided that after Anne's death the crown of Scotland might not be held by the ruler of England. To this Act, much as she disliked it, Anne was forced to consent, for the hands of England were tied by the French war. In 1705 the Scots showed their temper in another way. It happened that a Scottish ship had been seized in the Thames, on a charge of illegal trading. Soon after, an English ship, the *Worcester*, was driven by stress of weather into the Firth of Forth. Drunken talk by some of the crew led to the arrest of the ship's captain, Green, and his officers, and to their trial for alleged murder and piracy on one of their voyages. There was no real evidence in support of the charge, but Green and two others were hanged, chiefly because the Edinburgh mob demanded the blood of Englishmen. It was now clear that, if such things were to happen, war between the two kingdoms could not be far off, and wise men in both countries took steps to avert such a disaster. Each Parliament appointed commissioners to treat for union. The Scots feared for Presbyterianism, but the assurance that their state church would not be disturbed removed this difficulty. In the end, terms were agreed to, and the union took effect in 1707. Scotland secured complete free trade with England and her colonies, a gain of immense moment to a people full of enterprise and energy. But she gave up her Parliament, a real loss to her national life. Henceforth she was to send sixteen peers, to be chosen by the Scottish peers, and forty-five elected commoners to the Parliament at London.

The Tory attack on Marlborough.—The leader in charge of affairs at home, while Marlborough won victories abroad, was the Earl of Godolphin. He was tactful and prudent, never in the way and never out of the way, as Charles II said. Marlborough had declared that he would not command the army unless Godolphin were made treasurer, so as to keep up the supply of the sinews of war. They were both Tories; and as long as Parliament remained Tory

their course was easy enough. Now, however, under the Triennial Bill, elections were frequent, and the House of Commons became Whig. Marlborough was not a strong party man, and, in time, he relied wholly upon the Whigs. At court his great ally was his wife, who had long been Anne's most intimate friend and counsellor. When Anne, who disliked the party system, tried to retain Tory ministers, the duchess, aided by Godolphin, secured their dismissal. For a time the plan was successful. But the imperious duchess was often arrogant and tactless with the queen, and this Anne's slow but obstinate temper resented. The Tories of course used the faults of the duchess to their own advantage. A certain Mrs. Masham became intimate with Anne, and from such petty intrigue resulted, at last, the fall of Marlborough.

The prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, 1709-1710.—This climax arrived only gradually. The Whigs lost prestige when English generals, though not Marlborough himself, suffered some reverses on the continent. Steadily the tide of public opinion set in favour of the Tories. Religious passions were dragged into the party conflict. A certain Dr. Sacheverell preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1709, a sermon setting forth the extreme views that resistance of any kind to the sovereign was unlawful, that the church was in danger from the toleration of nonconformists, and that the Test Act, excluding them from office, should be more strictly enforced. The Whig ministry had not the good sense to leave such a man alone, to discredit himself by his own extravagance. Since his reference to resisting the king was really an attack on what the Whigs called "the glorious Revolution," in which a king had been resisted and overthrown, he was ordered to appear at the bar of the House of Commons and, in the end, was tried for high crimes and misdemeanour. During his trial he became a popular hero. Prayers were offered for him in some churches. A vast crowd followed him to the place of trial, shouting for his long life and safe deliverance. Anne's chaplain praised him publicly, and she herself attended the

trial. He was found guilty, but the sentence was so light as to be a rebuke to the Whigs; it was that his sermons should be burned by the common hangman, and that he should not preach for three years. After the verdict, rejoicings were heard all over England and fifty thousand people assembled to welcome Sacheverell at Shrewsbury.

The dismissal of Marlborough, 1711.—The enthusiasm for Sacheverell showed how strong was Tory feeling, and its reality was proved at an election which brought in a great Tory majority. The consequences were serious. At last, the queen took courage to act against the Whigs. In 1711, the Duke of Marlborough and his wife were dismissed from all their offices. So relentless still was the war of party that, in fear of a charge of high treason, the duke was even obliged to live abroad. The Tories were resolved to end the long war which the Whigs had carried on. The House of Lords was still Whig, but the Tories secured a majority there by persuading the queen to create twelve new Tory peers, a step of deep moment, for it meant that the Lords must henceforth, in some way, be forced to follow the lead of the Commons.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.—The Tories made peace, but at the sacrifice of honour. Ormonde, who succeeded Marlborough, entered into treacherous negotiations with the French in the field, and deserted the allies at a critical period of the war. England herself fared well enough. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed on March 31st, 1713, yielded to her Gibraltar, Minorca, Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the French part of St. Christopher. The right of the Bourbon, Philip V, to the throne of Spain was admitted; while, on the other hand, France admitted the right of the British Parliament to fix the succession. The Assiento Treaty with Spain, made at the same time, gave England a monopoly of the profitable slave-trade with the Spanish colonies, against which there was as yet no stirring of the nation's conscience. It also gave her a footing for trade with these colonies by permitting her to send to Panama yearly one ship of six hundred tons

with her cargo. Britain alone was now strong on the sea. The strain of the long war had put Holland in a secondary place. For the same reason France had allowed her navy to decline, and the decay of Spain was already marked. Britain was, for the time, the one great naval power.

The persecution of dissenters.—Harley, Earl of Oxford, and St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, the Tory leaders, were now masters of the situation.

Reaction was running very high, and even the Whigs joined in the Tory policy of persecuting nonconformists. Some of these, in order to qualify for office, under the Test Act (p. 330) would take the communion in the Church of England, but, at other times, would attend nonconformist services. The Occasional Conformity Bill, 1711, declared that any office-holder who attended a dissenting place of worship was to be dismissed, and to be incapable of holding office for



HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT
BOLINGBROKE (1678-1751)

a year after he had ceased such attendance. Few dissenters, however, retired from office. Some evaded the law by having chaplains in their own houses, so that they should not feel obliged to attend a dissenting place of worship; others became regular members of the Church of England, and swelled the ranks of the low church party. The Tories passed other intolerant measures. The Schism Act of 1714 forbade dissenters to teach in public schools, or even in private ones.

The death of Anne, 1714, and the fall of Bolingbroke.—The triumph of the Tories proved brief. A quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford was one source of weakness, and in July, 1714, Anne dismissed Oxford. The chief trouble lay, however, in the question of the succession. Anne was now a widow and childless. Like Elizabeth, she disliked any

reference to her successor. The recent death of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, whom Parliament had made legal successor to Queen Anne, left George, son of the electress, heir to the throne. Bolingbroke, however, intended to bring back the Stuarts in the person of James Edward. But the unhappy queen, worn out by the factions about her, was stricken with mortal illness a few days after the dismissal of Oxford, and before the completion of Bolingbroke's plans. When the queen was known to be dying, two Whig dukes, Argyle and Somerset, appeared in the queen's Council and demanded, as Privy Councillors, a voice in the nation's affairs. The Tories could not resist this claim to an old constitutional right, and other Whigs soon joined the two Whig dukes in helping the direction of events at this time by the Privy Council. It was vital to the Whigs that the line of Hanover should succeed, and they had the law on their side. On the day of the queen's death, George I was proclaimed king, and the old horror of civil war led the mass of the nation to accept quietly what was done. Bolingbroke, all hope of his own triumph ended, wrote to Dean Swift, "The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world this is, and how does fortune banter us!"

6. SCIENCE AND LETTERS

The growth of liberty.—When Anne, the last of the Stuart sovereigns, died, we find that new forces had become effective in English life. It is instructive to compare the outlook of the nation at this time with its earlier views under Anne's grandfather Charles I. Then the spirit of religious intolerance was so strong that the leaders of the Church of England were resolved to coerce all others into conformity to one model. In political affairs the king still talked of his absolute power as derived from God, and of the duty of the people to obey. The English nation had rejected such views and now, after a long era of strife, all was changed. The Church of England had failed in its exclusive claims;

and religious toleration, though not yet complete, was already the policy of the state. The king, so far from being supreme, now owed his title to an Act of Parliament, and was, in the end, to lose his political power. Such changes affected the inmost mind of the English people. Yet, on the surface, the people seemed to have had little share in making them. It was a few great families which played the chief part in the English revolution. In the back-ground, however, was the strength of the nation's will, and now the task of English civilization was to train and enlighten this people whose liberties were secure. It is a task not yet half accomplished, but its meaning had become clear by the time of Anne.

Sir Isaac Newton.—This work of education is so vital that the real key to what England was to become is found in the progress of science and letters. In science she had already the great name of Bacon (p. 243), and, since his day, had made creditable advances. The Royal Society had existed for some time in germ when it was definitely organized in 1660. It promoted scientific research and had found its greatest ornament when Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was elected a Fellow in 1672. His achievements were many, but the greatest was the discovery of gravitation as the regulating law for the movements of the earth and of all other bodies. Pope wrote of him:

“Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said ‘Let Newton be,’ and all was light.”

Addison and Steele.—Newton's work showed the wider range of thought in England. The interests of the English people were now more varied than in any previous age. London was already a great city. It had many coffee-houses, the forerunners of the modern clubs, where men interested in politics and letters came together to discuss the questions of the day. In 1702, the first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, appeared. It supplied a real want, and, by 1709, there were no less than eighteen newspapers in London. The news thus furnished was meagre enough,

compared with the contents of the modern newspaper. The style of writing, however, has never been surpassed. The names which give distinction to the press are those of Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Richard Steele (1672-1729). Steele seems to have had the more original mind. In 1709 he founded *The Tatler*. It soon came to an end and then, in 1711, he founded *The Spectator*, with Addison as his chief assistant. For a time it was issued daily. Every Friday, Addison published a literary essay, and on Saturday one that touched the grave topics of religion. With Addison English prose reached something like perfection. His light, easy, and graceful style, his fine and kindly humour, made his most serious writing popular at London tea-tables and coffee-houses. He set before himself the definite purpose "to banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain." Such an aim places Addison in marked contrast with writers of the Cavalier party under Charles II. To the polite world of that age, Puritan strictness was linked with vulgar cant. The lay sermons of Addison showed, however, not only sound morality but elegance and good breeding, and he helped in the task of giving better ideals to the world of fashion.

Swift and Defoe.—The bitter strife between Whig and Tory led to political writing of a high order. The foremost champion of the Tories was Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). He was a clergyman, who became, in 1713, Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, but his chief fame is due to political writings full of arrogance and hatred, and little in accord with his clerical character. His political pamphlets were masterly in style but ferocious in spirit. He satirized religious shams in his *Tale of a Tub*. *Gulliver's Travels*, which appeared when the Whigs ruled England under a Hanoverian king, is full of bitter mockery at mankind. There is no elegance in Swift, but he made irony a new weapon in English prose. The chief writer on the side opposed to Swift was Daniel Defoe (1661?-1731), who is now best known as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, perhaps the most popular story ever written. Defoe is

more, however, than the earliest author of tales of adventure. His most serious labours were devoted to politics, and he wrote for a host of newspapers in a style perfectly suited to his end. English, as a medium of scornful attack, shows its greatest power in the writings of Swift and Defoe.

Alexander Pope.—In this age of prose there were not wanting poets who became immensely popular. Chief amongst them is Alexander Pope (1688-1744), already famous in the reign of Anne, and surviving to a much later period. Like his master, Dryden, he wrote in obedience to formal rules. The rhymed couplet (p. 365) was the model for all who aspired to be poets. Pope translated Homer into rhymed couplets, and in this measure he wrote his *Essay on Man* and that bitter satire, *The Dunciad*. He is too purely intellectual to be a great poet, and has too little of the quality which inspires true poetry—deep, sincere, and natural feeling. It was an age not of poetry but of clear, lucid prose that, henceforth, is one of the chief factors in educating the English people.

TOPICS

I. Why did Monmouth fail? How did James II turn the Tories against him? Show the effect of the trial of the seven bishops.

II. The terms of the Bill of Rights. What toleration in religion was now attained?

III. The church system established by William III in Scotland. The political effect of the massacre of Glencoe. Why James II went to Ireland and what happened there. The effect of the Revolution on Ireland.

IV. The causes that led to the Mutiny Act. What the founding of the Bank of England did to aid William's plans. The terms of the Peace of Ryswick. How the press came to be free. The terms of the Act of Settlement.

V. What Marlborough achieved as a general. The causes that led to the union with Scotland. Why Dr. Sacheverell was prosecuted. The terms of the Peace of Utrecht. Why did Anne's death ruin Bolingbroke's plans?

VI. Describe the chief qualities of the poetry and of the prose of the reign of Anne.

CHAPTER XV

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

1. THE RULE OF WALPOLE AS PRIME MINISTER

The Whig Triumph.—George I, like William III, was a foreigner in England, and as such was distrusted and disliked by many of the English. The Tories would have preferred a Stuart, and had Anne lived six months longer would probably have changed the Act of Settlement (p. 355) so as to bring in a king of that line. This George well understood, and even before he set foot in England he dismissed from office Anne's Tory ministry and installed the Whigs in their place. An election soon gave the Whigs a great majority in the Commons. Bolingbroke, the Tory leader, espoused the cause of the Stuart Pretender, James Edward, son of James II, and fled to join him on the continent. Oxford was arrested on suspicion of similar treason to George I, but was, in the end, acquitted. The Tory squires and parsons greatly disliked the foreign king.



GEORGE I (1660-1727)

But they kept quiet for two reasons: the Pretender would give no guarantees to protect the Church of England; and espousal of his cause meant that most dreaded of scourges, civil war. To check threatened risings, the Parliament passed, in 1715, the Riot Act, giving magistrates power to use the military against gatherings of twelve persons, or

more, who refused to disperse within an hour after being warned to do so.

The Jacobite Rising, 1715-1716.—In spite of such precautions a rising occurred. George's claim to the throne was promptly challenged by James Edward. In 1715 this prince sent the Earl of Mar to Scotland, and there and in the north of England a rebellion broke out. Mar gathered an army of Highlanders, who proved themselves, once more, pathetically loyal to the Stuarts. Edinburgh was for a time in danger. But the Whig leader in Scotland, Argyle, grandson of the Argyle who had perished in Monmouth's cause (p. 338) was a real general. In November, 1715, with three thousand men, he checked, at Sheriffmuir, Mar's army of eight thousand Highlanders, whose wild charge this time failed. The rising in England was easily crushed. Expected aid did not come from France; for Louis XIV, the loyal friend of the Stuarts, had died in 1715. In spite of such discouragements, James Edward himself landed in Scotland early in 1716, but, though a high-minded man, he was dull and headstrong, and aroused no enthusiasm. In the end, he and Mar escaped with great difficulty. About forty of their followers perished on the scaffold. It was already clear that the Stuart cause had ceased to stir deeply either England or Scotland. Tory squires might drink toasts to the absent king over the water, but they were not ready to risk much in his cause.

The Septennial Bill, 1716.—In the excited state of the public mind the Whigs feared the effects on their fortunes of an election, which, under the Triennial Bill, could not long be postponed. Accordingly, in 1716, they passed through both Houses the Septennial Act, which made seven, not three years, the limit of the term for a Parliament. It was a high-handed proceeding for a Parliament, chosen for three years, to prolong its own life to seven, but by this step the nation secured a period of quiet much needed after the recent turmoil. At first the enemies of George I said that he sat on a rocking-horse, and not on a throne, but, after seven years, his right was so secure

that even the Tories did not wish to incur the risk of a change.

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet.—Under the new king the royal power met with still further restriction. George I was not clever, but he was manly, brave, and truthful, and did not deserve the calumny heaped upon him by his Tory critics. Though in Hanover he had ruled as a despot, in England he was content to be a constitutional king. It is amazing that, having long known he should some day rule England, he should not have learned English, but he could speak hardly a word of that tongue, and was obliged to use Latin when he conversed with his ministers. Naturally, for George to sit at a cabinet council, when he understood no word of what was said, would have been absurd. He absented himself, and the cabinet, having reached decisions, submitted them to him afterwards. Since the king was absent from their meetings they required another leader with some authority. This leader, who was, of course, one of their own number, came to be known as the prime minister, and in time it is he, not the king, who exercises real power. In 1707, Anne had placed her veto on a measure that had passed both Houses of Parliament; George I never ventured to do this, and the ruler thus lost any control over legislation. He could still dismiss ministers; he still kept in his own hands the control of foreign affairs; it was still necessary to consult him on all state business; but the real directing power now passed out of the sovereign's hands into those of the prime minister.

New Commercial Interests.—With George I securely on the throne, Britain faced new problems. After a century and a half of bitter strife about religion, the nation had grown weary of disputes upon that subject. By 1719, the Whigs were able to repeal the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts (p. 363), and thus to take a step forward in a policy of toleration. The vital interest of the age was in commerce, and colonies across the sea attracted attention because they promised an extension of trade. It was chiefly hope of wider

trade that had led Scotland to end her separate history and to unite with England. We are astonished to find that even the old enmity with Roman Catholic France was now forgotten for a time, and that, in 1717, Britain actually made an alliance with that country to check the designs of Spain. An able minister, Alberoni, inspired Spain at this time with new vigour. She refused to carry out the terms of the Assiento Treaty (p. 362) by which Britain had a monopoly of the trade in negroes with the Spanish colonies, and the right to send one trading ship each year to Panama. War broke out in 1718, but the most momentous thing for Britain about the war was its ending. By a treaty made in 1720, Spain agreed to carry out the terms of the Assiento Treaty, and the British had a new opening for trade.

The South Sea Bubble, 1720-1721.—This prospect led to an amazing excitement. The English, so often described as unemotional, are, in truth, quickly moved to excitement, as the recent outbreak in regard to the "Popish Plot," and the trial of the seven bishops, and of Dr. Sacheverell, had shown. These were about religion; the new outburst shows the changed spirit of the people, since it was about trade. For some reason it was believed that the treaty with Spain opened the door to boundless wealth, and now a fever of speculation seized the nation. When we remember that all the trade which the treaty allowed was the sending of negroes to the Spanish colonies, and the cargo of one ship of six hundred tons to Panama each year, we can see that the outlook was not really dazzling. It was expected, however, that a contraband trade, going far beyond the terms of the treaty, could be carried on. When the treaty was first under discussion, the South Sea Company had been formed to carry on the trade. The company planned operations on a stupendous scale. The government had a large floating debt, and the company agreed to take over this debt at a much lower rate of interest than was being charged, and, in addition, to pay the government a premium of £7,500,000 for the monopoly of the South Sea trade. It was a bargain that meant ruin to the company.

But this the public would not see. Landowners, clergymen, widows, sold everything to buy South Sea stock, which went up to a premium of one thousand per cent. Whispers of what the government aimed to do increased the fever to grow rich. Britain would, it was said, exchange such possessions as Gibraltar for rich gold mines in Peru, to be controlled by the company. During the madness, other companies were easily floated to carry out wild projects. There was a whole sea of bubbles. The directors of the South Sea Company promised impossible dividends. They undertook too much and proved unable to pay the great premium offered to the government. When, in the end, this truth became apparent, the price of South Sea stock fell rapidly and thousands were ruined.

Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister, 1721-1742.—The South Sea Bubble did some good. It enabled the nation to place



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,
EARL OF ORFORD (1676-1745)

its floating debt at a low rate of interest; above all, it brought to the front Sir Robert Walpole. He had held high office under Anne, had fought the Tories at the time of the succession of George I, and had then been George's chief minister for a time. He and his Whig friends, however, had quarrelled among themselves, and some of those afterwards discredited by their share in the South Sea Bubble had combined, in 1717, to drive him from office. His day had

now come. Every one who had promoted the South Sea Bubble was suspected. Serious charges were brought against members of the government. Some retired disgraced; others took lower posts. Walpole was the one strong man whom the nation could trust in such a crisis. and the king called upon him to take charge of the finances. He was a jovial English squire, coarse in speech, but

honest, sensible, and faithful in discharging his public duties. He reorganized the South Sea Company, leaving it still a gigantic corporation. The shareholders secured one share in the new company for three in the old, the government guaranteed dividends on half the stock, and, with something short of utter ruin, the crisis passed.

The party system.—Walpole's sway lasted for more than twenty years. Many obstacles impeded his work as leader. The law knew, and still knows, no such office as that of prime minister, and a great many objected to the title as giving the impression that the king had been brushed aside. Walpole had to manage both king and Parliament. The king still possessed real power, and Walpole must retain his support. He needed always, too, a majority in the House of Commons. This he retained by rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies. Every favour in the gift of the government, every post, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, that he could control, went to his own political friends. Those who opposed him received short shrift; even officers in the army were dismissed. About a hundred members of the House of Commons held office under the government. Let one of them dare to vote against Walpole and he lost his place. For good or ill, it was Walpole who forged the weapon of a compact political party, held together by strict discipline, under a strong leader, to carry on the government. It is the party system as we know it still. Eighty years of civil war and religious strife had left England without a workable system of government, and it was now a statesman's task to evolve one. Walpole did it.

Walpole's methods.—The chief aims of Walpole were, as he said, to let sleeping dogs lie; to leave alone troublesome issues, such as those concerned with religion; to attempt no great changes; to keep out of war; and to promote the landed and commercial interests. He was cautious and far-seeing, and his industry was amazing; he wrote most of his letters, and even copied long papers, with his own hand. With coarse quips and jests, he faced the rough issues of

party warfare, and was ready to take reverses cheerfully enough. He had some refined tastes; he made a great collection of pictures; but, for the rest, he was like any other rollicking squire of the time, who loved his country and was ready, in his own way, to do what he could to serve her. To retain a majority in the Commons, Walpole, it is said, practised shameless bribery. Yet, after his fall, a hostile committee of Parliament made a rigid scrutiny of his conduct, and only two proven instances of bribery are known. Walpole once pointed to a group of men opposing him and said contemptuously, "All these have their price," and the report went about that he had said every one could be bribed. No one knew better than he that, even with the low moral tone of the age, this was not true. He was not scrupulous: "He durst do right," his son, Horace Walpole, said of him, "but he durst do wrong too." Under him, methods in politics became more than ever like the business of war, in which the main thing is to outwit the enemy, and to strike hard blows.

Long peace under Walpole.—From the first Walpole understood that political power must centre in the House of Commons. In 1719, his Whig friends, who saw an election coming and feared a Tory majority in the Commons, had tried to make the House of Lords a bulwark of Whig influence. They had proposed a Peerage Bill, by which the number of peers was to be limited; the king was to have the power to create a new peer only when an old peerage died out. This proposal would have turned the House of Lords into a small body, over whom neither king nor Commons could exercise effective control. Walpole fought the measure and defeated it, and thus made sure that, when need arose, the House of Commons could induce the king to create new peers. In this way the Lords could be brought to accept the measures of the popular chamber. When England settled down under Walpole, she passed through uneventful years of prosperous trade and money-making. He gloried in keeping free from war. "Madam," he once said to the queen, "there are fifty thousand men slain this

year in Europe, and not one Englishman." He would make no alliances that might drive Britain into war. "My policies," he said at the beginning of his ministry, "are to keep clear of all engagements."

George II, 1727-1760.—George I died suddenly in 1727, and, for a time, it seemed that the career of Walpole was ended. The new king, George II, who had quarrelled bitterly with his father, wished to get rid of his father's servant. But no one could control the Whig majority in the Commons like Walpole, and George II was soon content that Walpole should remain prime minister. George II, like his father, had many good qualities. He was a man of honour, loyal to his friends, cautious, sober, and methodical. But his mind was narrow, and his vanity ridiculous. George's wife, Caroline of Anspach, was a remarkable woman. In 1720 Walpole had helped her to make money out of the South Sea craze. The two remained fast friends, and together they were able to manage George II. Frederick William, king of Prussia, called George a comedian, and this quality appears in his everlasting posing and bluster. "Snappings and snubbings" were the staple of his talk with his queen; he would call her a fool to her face, and denounce her friends as scoundrels, puppies, or imbeciles; yet he spent seven or eight hours daily in her society, wrote her interminable letters whenever they were separated, and was broken-hearted when she died in 1737. She never appeared to differ from him, but quietly suggested ideas, knowing that George would adopt them as his own. He would sneer at kings who had been ruled by wives or favourites, and ask with absurd complacency who it was that governed him. Most men understood very well



GEORGE II (1683-1760)

that it was Caroline of Anspach; when Walpole persuaded her, he had really persuaded the king.

The Excise Bill, 1733.—Walpole tried to make but one great reform. The chief burden of taxation was on the land, and the squires grumbled at having to pay as much sometimes as two shillings on each pound of rent which they re-



CAROLINE OF ANSPACH, QUEEN
OF GEORGE II (1682-1737)

ceived. Walpole tried to relieve them by revising the taxes paid by the traders. He found that the customs duties were evaded through smuggling conducted on a vast scale. Two of the articles smuggled most extensively were tobacco and wine. In 1733, therefore, Walpole proposed a new plan. No duties should be charged on tobacco and wine. Instead, they should come in free, and be stored in warehouses. Only when taken out for use in Britain would a tax—called an excise—be charged. If sent out

of the country, they would not be taxed, and this free import and export would make London, Walpole believed, the market of the world. His plan was wise, and his proposals have now become the basis of Britain's finance. But the merchants took alarm. Walpole had once said, in his rough way, that while the squires bore heavy taxes in silence, the trading interest resembled a hog, which, if touched, would squeal so loudly as to alarm the neighbourhood. He now found how true were these words. Amid intense excitement his opponents told the people that Walpole would levy an excise upon clothing, food, and all other necessities, and that an army of excise men would invade every household, to see whether the occupants were obeying the law. There were processions and petitions against the measure; even the army threatened revolt, rather than pay the excise on tobacco. With keen regret, therefore, Walpole abandoned

a plan that might have caused bloodshed. He took his revenge by dismissing office-holders who had opposed him. No other great reform did he try to introduce.

2. THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE WITH FRANCE

The dispute with Spain over the "right of search."—While Walpole was striving to maintain peace, the forces making for war were strong. The South Sea Company carried on with Spanish America a great trade, which went far beyond the treaty rights. In order to check unlawful trade, Spain claimed the "right of search" over foreign ships which sailed to her colonies and which might be carrying forbidden goods. It is true that the English asserted similar rights. It was claimed, however, that the Spanish coast-guards in America treated British crews with uncalled-for brutality. When the British retaliated, an angry temper developed on both sides. A certain Captain Jenkins told Parliament that his ship had been illegally stopped by Spanish coast-guards, who tore off his ear with the taunt that he might take it to his king, carried away his nautical instruments, and left him to get home as best he could. He was asked what had been his thoughts when helpless in Spanish hands, and replied in a well-studied phrase, "I committed my soul to God and my cause to my country." The story of Jenkins's ear seized the imagination of a warlike people who now believed that hundreds of Englishmen were rotting in Spanish prisons. On the other hand, the Spanish told a story that English seamen had seized a Spanish nobleman and cut off his nose, and made him eat it. There was talk of reviving the great days of Elizabeth, and humbling Spanish pride anew. The opposition in the Commons clamoured for war, among them a certain fiery young orator, William Pitt, of whom we shall soon hear more.

War with Spain, 1739, and fall of Walpole, 1742.—Walpole hated the thought of war. Rather than declare war, he should have resigned. But he clung to office. In 1739, when

war was declared, the bells rang to celebrate the great event, but the prime minister said bitterly, "They are ringing their bells; they will soon be wringing their hands." Reverses came speedily. Captain Vernon was sent to attack the coast of Spanish America. There was immense excitement in England when he took the Spanish stronghold of Portobello in 1739, but a little later he failed disastrously before Cartagena, near Panama. Commodore Anson set out to attack Spain on the Pacific. Though the passage was stormy, and some of his ships had to turn back, he sailed round Cape Horn, and reaped rich booty in that ocean. Yet, as he was not heard of for nearly four years, the British thought that he was lost, and that the Pacific adventure had been even more disastrous than the Atlantic. Walpole was blamed for the unsuccessful war. An election in 1741 proved unfavourable, and in February, 1742, he was forced to resign. He had retained power by bribery, and bribery helped to drive him out. George II parted from his minister with genuine regret. Walpole became Earl of Orford, and never again took office.

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1741-1748.—The contest, begun in 1739 in the form of a war with Spain, broadened out into a general European war. In 1740 Maria Teresa succeeded to the dominions of Austria over which a woman had never before ruled. The young Frederick II, known better as Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, took advantage of her first difficulties by raking up an old claim to the Austrian province of Silesia, and by marching his troops into that country, in 1740, in open defiance of the claims of Maria Teresa. France and Spain, both ruled by Bourbon kings, had now made an alliance known as the Family Compact, and they joined in the attack upon her. Some powers came to her assistance, and thus a good part of Europe became involved in this War of the Austrian Succession. George II, as Elector of Hanover, allied himself with Maria Teresa. Priding himself on being a soldier, he led the allied army in person, and did it well. In June, 1743, he won a victory over the French at Dettingen. But

reverses and dangers were soon to follow. Britain and France, already virtually at war through their allies, declared formal war in 1744. In the following year the French won a victory at Fontenoy, and this encouraged an attack on George II nearer home.

The Second Jacobite Rising, 1745-1746.—James Edward, son of the deposed James II, still lived, and his son Charles Edward now undertook to regain for the Stuarts the British throne. Like most political exiles, he had no real idea of the opinion of the home country. By the mass of the people the Stuarts were, in truth, wellnigh forgotten. Yet Charles believed in a widespread devotion to his line and a real eagerness for its restoration. The young prince was obstinate and rash. When friends tried to persuade him that it was folly to attack George without support from a French army, he declared that he would go even if he went alone. The battle of Fontenoy gave him new encouragement, and, in August, 1745, the Stuart prince landed in the Hebrides with half-a-dozen followers. It was the first time that his foot had touched Scottish soil, and he knew little of the country. A good many Highlanders obeyed his summons, some of them armed only with pitchforks and with scythes mounted on poles. While nearly all were filled with misgivings, they remained loyal to their prince.

The Stuart cause defeated at Culloden, 1746.—Wonderful to relate, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" was soon in possession of the city of Edinburgh, though the castle towering above the city still held out. Near Edinburgh he met George II's general, Cope, at Prestonpans, and swept away the English army by a charge of his Highlanders. Counting on the supposed devotion of England to his house, he



WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND (1721-1765)

advanced southwards as far as Derby. A few English joined his force, and their support gave him confidence. The government, too, was greatly alarmed, for nearly all its regular troops were absent on the continent. At the news of his advance, London was stricken with panic. To prevent a sudden run on the bank, it is said that payment of cheques was made slowly, in sixpences. Even King George II prepared to fly. Yet there never was serious danger



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD (1720-1788)

that the English people would support Charles Edward. He was already planning the details of his entry into London, when his officers told him that his only safety lay in turning back; England had really held aloof and given him no welcome. Bitterly disappointed he retired. Adequate forces were now gathering to crush him. His Highlanders won, indeed, a second victory at Falkirk, early in 1746, but the odds against him were now overwhelming. The last

stand was made at Culloden, where Charles's little force was greatly outnumbered by the trained army of George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland. This time the Highland charge failed. No quarter was given after the battle; the wounded and helpless were killed in cold blood, and the epithet "Butcher," clung to Cumberland for the rest of his life. Almost by a miracle, Charles escaped to the continent, where for some forty years he lived a dissipated life, a broken-down man. The Stuart cause was dead. The Highlanders were disarmed, and forbidden even to wear the

kilts, and the Highland chiefs lost the old authority over their people which the law had recognized. A few leaders of the revolt were executed.

Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle, 1748.—The war in Europe went on until 1748. Before it ended one thing had become clear. In spite of Britain's efforts to build up trade with Spanish America, Spain and Portugal divided those regions between them, and Britain could gain no footing there. In North America and in India, on the other hand, she had a footing. There she and France were rivals for supremacy, and each was resolved to oust the other. During the war, the New England colonists, certain that the French fortress of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton, would be a continual menace to their trade, attacked and captured it, with some aid from a British fleet. This was in 1745. In the next year, in the far East, the British met with a reverse that balanced the success of Louisbourg; the French took Madras, an important British trading-post in India. Each side had checked the other. At last, in 1748, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. The chief provision of the treaty was that conquests made during the war were to be given up. This step aroused the wrath of the New England colonists, who, having spent blood and treasure in taking Louisbourg, did not relish seeing that menace to their trade pass once more into the hands of the French enemy. The peace meant only a pause in the war, for both France and England were prepared to fight to the bitter end for supremacy in North America and India.

3. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The aims of France in North America.—A struggle world-wide in range now reached its climax. It was rivalry for trade and colonies between England and France that had caused the principal wars since 1689. Each power was resolved to check the other. In North America, France held Canada on the St. Lawrence and Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi; and her plan was to occupy all the intervening territory,

and thus master the continent. Along the Atlantic coast stretched a line of English colonies, most of which had prospered greatly. The English in America outnumbered the French by twenty to one. But their colonies were divided and jealous of each other, while those of France were under one control. Even though New France contained no more than sixty thousand Europeans, these were skilful in frontier warfare, and could keep up a long fight. France's aim as to extend a line of forts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, occupy the territory in therear of the English colonies, shut them in along a narrow seaboard on the Atlantic, and, in the end, overwhelm them. This plan England resolved to defeat, and these contrary aims led to renewed war.

The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.—George Washington, a young militia officer destined to attain to world-wide fame, was sent, in 1754, by the governor of the colony of Virginia to check the advance of a French force sent from Canada to occupy the valley of the Ohio. Near the site of the present great city of Pittsburgh, he engaged a superior force of Frenchmen in a hot skirmish, but he was defeated and forced to retire to Virginia. The British government now sent out to Virginia an army commanded by General Braddock. This general, advancing in 1755 against Fort DuQuesne, on the Ohio River, was attacked by the French and their Indian allies concealed in the forest, and there slain, with a considerable number of his followers. Again Washington, who accompanied Braddock, had to lead a shattered force back to Virginia. In Nova Scotia, too, the English and the French were engaged in disputes over the question of frontiers. There was much bloodshed in a time of nominal peace. War could not long be delayed, and it broke out in 1756. By that time, Britain had made an alliance with Frederick the Great of Prussia, and against these allies were leagued France, Austria, and Russia. It was well for Britain that France had Prussia to face on the continent. The chief strength of the French was spent against this strong foe in Europe, and Britain was able, in time, to get command of the sea

and to throw her strength against her rival in America and India. The war lasted so long that it is known as the Seven Years' War, and when it was over Britain had ruined France's plans for an overseas empire.

Execution of Admiral Byng, 1757.—In America the British suffered some severe reverses. In Europe, too, George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland, met with disastrous defeat in 1757, and was forced to sign the Convention of Klosterzeven which left the king's beloved Hanover in possession of the enemy. The people of Britain were suspicious of their leaders, for the Whigs had been too long in power, and were now corrupt and selfish. In the army the officers were appointed on account of their rank or influence, scarcely ever for efficiency. The nation distrusted its leaders and was furious when disaster came. Ever since 1708 the British had held the island of Minorca. In 1756, when the French besieged it, Admiral Byng was sent with a fleet to its relief. Checked by the French fleet in a slight engagement, he sailed away, leaving Minorca to its fate. When it fell there was a fiery outburst of anger in England. Byng was tried by court-martial and executed for having failed to do his duty. It was a sharp reminder of what the nation expected of its guardians. A statesman was needed who commanded confidence, and at last the nation found the man in William Pitt.

Pitt, Secretary of State for War, 1757-1761.—The Duke of Newcastle, a fussy man, in personal character quite honest, but delighting in the sordid details of political wire-pulling, was the prime minister under whom Britain had drifted into war. When a London mob was clamouring for Byng's life in 1756, Newcastle, afraid before



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF
CHATHAM (1708-1778)

the rising wrath of the nation, resigned. But he was strong in the House of Commons, which he knew how to bribe, and, in the end, he came back to power with this change, that, while he was to be prime minister, and to do his favourite work of looking after the office-seekers, Pitt was to be secretary for war and to direct the military operations which were now world-wide in their range. The plan pleased the people, who had entire confidence in Pitt, and under his leadership a new and glorious era dawned for Britain. Pitt's strength lay in his frank appeal to the nation's higher motives. He loved his country with an unselfish love, and no vice stained his own life—rare qualities in the leaders of that age. The effect of his speeches was amazing; unworthy men quailed before his fierce vehemence; he could sway even a corrupt House of Commons. Pitt had a sublime arrogance. "I know that I can save this nation, and that nobody else can," he said at this time.

The Fall of Canada, 1760.—Pitt had served as an officer in early life, and one of his faults was that he liked war,



JAMES WOLFE (1727-1759)

and did not shrink from its horrors. He was now resolved finally to humble France, and to seize her overseas dominions. In order to effect this aim, he chose his officers for their efficiency, not for their family influence. To America he sent two promising young generals, Amherst and Wolfe. Hitherto, Montcalm, the French general, had held the British in check, but now the tide turned. In 1758, Amherst, with Wolfe as second in command, took Louisbourg; to the joy of New England that stronghold was soon destroyed,

and it lies in ruins to this day. In 1759 Wolfe was sent up the St. Lawrence with the difficult task before him of

taking Quebec. The high cliffs along the river above Quebec seemed impregnable, and Montcalm's army lined the shore below the fortress and made a landing impossible. But the army under Wolfe and the fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders made a formidable combination. On a dark September night, while Saunders kept Montcalm on the watch by a vigorous cannonading from his ships, Wolfe managed to lead his force up a steep path above Quebec. He surprised the feeble guard at the top and arrayed an army of four thousand men on the Plains of Abraham. So weak were the walls of Quebec that Montcalm did not fight behind them, but met Wolfe on the open plains. Few as were those engaged, it was a battle of world-wide import, for it decided the fate of France in North America. Montcalm was defeated and killed; the victor, Wolfe, was also struck down. When, a few days later, Quebec surrendered, the end was near. In 1760 the French laid down their arms at Montreal and yielded Canada to Britain.

France and Britain in India.—In India there was the same record of disaster at first, and brilliant success in the end. Ever since 1600, when the East India Company was founded, the English had carried on trade in India. In time they had become masters of three centres, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, where they established warehouses protected by forts. They held no other territory in India and desired none; the East India Company, with a monopoly of the British trade, wished merely to extend its operations. But other nations—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French—were in the field as rivals for this trade. The Portuguese had been first in the country, and had excluded all other traders; but after 1580, when Spain annexed Portugal, Spain's enemies, England and Holland, attacked her in the East and began to trade on their own account. In these commercial operations, the Dutch long had the advantage, but in time they were forced by the English to confine their operations to the islands of the Indian archipelago. The Portuguese were now independent again, but were weak, and could no longer compete seriously with

Britain. Her chief rival was neither Holland nor Portugal, but France.

The Designs of Dupleix.—The French had political ambi-



tions. Their design was to build up a great empire in India. That country was held together very loosely under an emperor at Delhi, known as the Great Mogul, or Mongol, the descendant of a line of Moslem conquerors of India. By 1700, the rule of this emperor had become so weak that many states supposed to be under his sway were really independent. Defined frontiers hardly existed; brig-

andage and violence prevailed everywhere. It is estimated that not less than two million armed men were ready to sell their services to any capable leader who could pay them. Dupleix, the able governor of the French post at Pondicherry, saw that native troops were powerless before the superior organization of the Europeans. The helpless people were accustomed to the alien and harsh rule of the Mongol conqueror. Why, Dupleix asked, should not France displace him, and herself take the leading place in India? Dupleix took steps to prove that France, not Britain, was fitted to perform such a task. After the French took Madras in 1746 (p. 381), he paraded the captive British garrison in triumph before the natives. To them the French seemed the strong military power and the British poor-spirited traders.

The career of Clive.—The success of the plan of Dupleix

would mean the ruin of British trade in India, and, of course, the British would not give way without a great struggle. Thus, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, made in 1748, secured no real peace between the French and the English in India. An extraordinary Englishman now forged to the front. Robert Clive was the son of an English squire who had sunk into poverty. Clive went out to India, in 1744, as an obscure clerk in the office of the East India Company. At Madras he was friendless and despondent, and, at one time, tried to take his own life. His nature was absolutely fearless. Once he accused an officer of cheating at cards, and a duel followed. Clive missed his antagonist, who then came near, put his pistol to Clive's head, and told him to ask for his life. Clive did so. Then his opponent told him to withdraw the charge of cheating. "I said you cheated and I say so still," was Clive's answer. His opponent threw down his pistol, saying that Clive was a madman. The clerk soon left his desk to take up the soldier's work, for which he had a supreme genius. Madras had been restored to Britain, but in 1751, at a time of supposed peace, Dupleix prepared again to attack it. Clive read his plan and suddenly seized Arcot, the capital of one of Dupleix's native allies. In this place Clive had to bear a long siege, but the defence was so heroic that his foes withdrew, and the natives saw that the British might be even better fighters than the French. Not long after this both Dupleix and Clive left India. The French East India Company had not prospered; it had borrowed from the French government not less than £6,000,000, while the English company was able to lend its government £4,000,000. France was alarmed lest Dupleix should draw her into a great European war, for which she was as yet unprepared; he was, therefore,



ROBERT, LORD CLIVE
(1725-1774)

disgraced and died in poverty. Clive, on the other hand, received a great welcome in England. He was, however, needed in the East, and in 1756 he returned to Madras with the military command, and with the promise that he should soon be made governor.

The Black Hole of Calcutta, 1757.—Then came the crisis which led to Britain's empire in India. Suraj-ud-dowlah, the Moslem ruler of Bengal, was a man of vicious and arrogant character. So weak was the rule of the Great Mogul at Delhi, that this nabob, or governor of a province, was really an independent sovereign. He found that the English, fearing an attack from the French, were strengthening their fort at Calcutta, and when he demanded the reason, and did not get an answer that satisfied him, he seized all the English upon whom he could lay hands and gave a careless order that they should be confined in a certain prison-room.



EDWARD, BARON HAWKE (1705-1781)

The room, as it happened, was only eighteen feet long and fourteen wide and the English numbered one hundred and forty-five, of whom one was a woman. For a long, sweltering day and night they remained locked in this room. Tormented by suffocation and thirst, many of them died in raving madness. When the door was opened in the morning only twenty-three were found alive.

Victory of Plassey, 1757, and British control of Bengal.—When the terrible outrage of the Black Hole of Calcutta occurred, Clive was at Madras, but he hastened to punish the murderous deed. He soon retook Calcutta. But Suraj-ud-dowlah now menaced him with a great army, and in June,

1757, Clive fought at Plassey the great battle which was to decide the fate of India. With but three thousand men, of whom less than a thousand were Europeans, Clive defeated the nabob's army of fifty-five thousand, a success made possible by superior discipline and by the treachery of the nabob's chief lieutenant. This victory, and the death, soon after, of Suraj-ud-dowlah, left Clive the real ruler of Bengal. A few years later the emperor at Delhi gave the East India Company the right to collect the taxes of Bengal, and in this way a trading company came to rule a great province, more than twice as populous as England itself. The French could no longer rival the English. Even when Clive had returned to England in 1760, Eyre Coote was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the French at Wandewash. Pondicherry surrendered soon after. Dupleix's dream of a great French Indian empire had ended in complete disaster. Not by accident did Britain win the victory. Her fleet now swept the seas. When, off Quiberon Bay, in France, Hawke won, in 1759, a great naval victory over the French, he struck a blow which proved effective in both India and America, for henceforth France was powerless to send succour to either region. It was a new lesson in the strength derived from mastery of the sea.

Death of George II, 1760.—In the midst of these great events George II died, having lived to be an old man of seventy-six. He had never loved Pitt, who had once spoken of George's loved Hanover as a "despicable electorate," for which England was being sacrificed. But the old king had a blunt common-sense. "Sire, give me your confidence and I shall deserve it," Pitt had said on taking office, and George's answer was, "Deserve my confidence and you shall receive it." Experience had taught George that rule in England was vastly different from his despotic sway in a little German state. "Ministers are the king in this country," he once said.

The retirement of Pitt, 1761.—The new king was resolved to change all this. The successor of George II was his grandson, George III, an untried young man in

his twenty-second year. He had been trained by a German mother, who had ever urged him to "be a king" in England, in the same sense in which he was elector in Hanover; and he was now resolved to restore personal rule. George prided himself on not being a foreigner. "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton," he said, and he wished to be popular with the British people as one of themselves. With a king on the



GEORGE III (1738-1820)

throne determined to be master, the sway of the imperious Pitt soon came to an end. He now intended finally to ruin France, and make Britain the first power in the world. It was a dangerous ambition, sure to cause, in the long run, a union of other powers against her; and we need not, therefore, count as wholly unwise the young king's wish to make peace. When prostrate France delayed in accepting the terms offered to her, Pitt divined the cause; Spain was preparing to join her in the war. He advised

an attack upon Spain before she was ready for war. But his counsel was not accepted, and therefore, in October, 1761, he resigned, after a ministry the most glorious in the annals of Britain.

The Peace of Paris, 1763.—Spain's action showed that Pitt was right; she declared war within three months after his fall. But the British conquered, even without Pitt. They captured Havana in Cuba, seized the Philippines, and took great Spanish treasure on the high seas. In spite of all this George III still wished to make peace, and on February 10th, 1763, the Peace of Paris was finally signed. Britain recovered Minorca, the loss of which had caused Admiral Byng's execution. Spain recovered Havana and the Philippines, but yielded Florida to Britain. France abandoned

her dream of empire in North America, and Canada became British territory. In India, though France took back the territory she had lost, she agreed no longer to keep up a military establishment there, and left Britain's position impregnable owing to her control of Bengal. Never before had she achieved such triumphs. She had won a great colonial empire; she was left without serious rivalry in India. An era of unparalleled prosperity seemed to have begun. Yet her empire was on the verge of disruption, and before her lay half a century of almost continuous war.

TOPICS

I. What prospect of success had the first Jacobite rising? What caused the Septennial Act? Why was a prime minister now necessary? What caused the South Sea Bubble? Why did Walpole find the party system necessary? Was he corrupt?

II. The causes of Walpole's fall. Why did Charles Edward fail? Why the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was short-lived.

III. How the nations were grouped in the Seven Years' War. Why Britain needed Pitt. In what way did France plan to build up an empire in India? The consequences of the Battle of Plassey. Why Pitt retired. What Britain secured by the war.

CHAPTER XVI

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I. THE DESPOTIC RULE OF GEORGE III

George III's design to bring in the Tories.—The aim of personal rule which George III cherished was certain to receive more support from the Tories, the successors of the old Cavalier party, than from the Whigs; and now the young king worked steadily to get a Tory majority in the Commons. It was not, however, easy to defeat the Whigs. They were divided into groups, ready to war on each other for the spoils of office, but ready also to unite against the Tories. The Whig, Newcastle, had remained in office even after Pitt had retired, but the king paid little heed to his views, and in 1762 Newcastle gave way to the Earl of Bute, George's former tutor. Bute found his path thorny. He was a Scot, one of a race of whom the English were still jealous; he was, moreover, the king's "favourite," looked upon as his intriguing servant. When Bute, in 1763, made the treaty with France, which gave up so much of what Pitt had won, many believed that he had been bribed by the French king. For all this the London mob clamoured against him. He soon found that the king's support was not enough to keep him in office, and he retired in 1763. "If I had but £50 per annum," he said, "I would retire on bread and water and think it luxury compared with what I suffer." Then Whig group succeeded Whig group in power. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, took office in 1766 under the Duke of Grafton, but the great leader was failing in mind and body, and the king was able to proceed steadily with his plans for getting power into his own hands.

The bribery of Parliament by George III.—George intended

to be his own prime minister and to direct the government. He intended also to control Parliament, and he did so by simply buying a majority. Circumstances favoured his policy. The masses of the people had no vote. Some almost deserted villages, "rotten boroughs," had two members, while important places had none; Cornwall with its small population sent five times as many members to Parliament as did Middlesex and London. There were six constituencies, each with not more than three electors. Under these conditions members had little to fear from public opinion, and George could buy support. Bribes were paid by the king almost publicly; the secretary of the treasury acknowledged that in a single morning £25,000 were spent for votes. Two fifths of the members of the Commons held posts under the government and could be dismissed at the king's will. By bribery and by the use of **patronage**, George formed a compact party which he wished ~~to be known~~ as that of "The King's Friends"; those who ~~opposed~~ him were, of course, the king's enemies. To buy ~~up~~ the press, George spent £30,000 during the first two years of his reign. The Whig leaders fought the king's friends with the same weapons of corruption; a single election in the town of Northampton cost each party £30,000. George became master of the art of corruption, doing the work in person. In private life he was strict in morals, simple in tastes, and pre-eminently an English gentleman of the better type, but in politics he was unscrupulous and vindictive.

The prosecution of John Wilkes.—Of course protests were made against George's policy. John Wilkes, the spendthrift and profligate son of a London distiller, founded, in 1762, a newspaper called *The North Briton*. Its title was ironical, and its columns were filled with sarcasm at the expense of the Scot, or North Briton, Bute. Wilkes adopted in English journalism a practice, then new, of printing in full the names of those he assailed. In No. 45 he criticised the king's speech made at the closing of Parliament on April 19th, 1763, and insinuated that in it

George III had given countenance to what was not true. Wilkes, who was a member of Parliament, fancied himself, as such, secure from arrest. The government, however, brought a charge of libel, for speaking disrespectfully of the king. What was called a "general warrant" was issued, which, without mentioning any names, ordered the seizure of the authors, printers, and publishers of the offending words. Wilkes was sent to the Tower; and then began a struggle which lasted for years. Chief-justice Pratt, before whom the case was tried, supported Wilkes's claim to privilege as a member of Parliament, and ordered his release; he decided, too, that general warrants, which did not give the names of the offenders, were illegal.

The expulsion of Wilkes from the Commons.—Wilkes prosecuted the secretary of state for illegal arrest. Then, in 1764, the bribed House of Commons expelled him, and he was also found guilty, in the ordinary courts, of putting his hand to libellous and indecent writings. He slipped away to France, and, when he did not appear for sentence, was declared an outlaw. The court seemed to have triumphed. But in February, 1768, Wilkes returned to England, and, in a general election, was chosen member for Middlesex. The House of Commons promptly expelled him, and he soon found himself in prison under his old sentence of outlawry. An immense mob attacked the prison to rescue him, and five or six people were killed. The mob was eager in the cause of Wilkes. Everywhere, in shop windows, before ale-houses, even on trinkets, his portrait appeared. People in the streets were forced to shout for "Wilkes and Liberty." Leaders who had attacked him were obliged, when he was elected, to illuminate their houses in his honour. The stately Austrian ambassador was dragged from his coach, that the mob might chalk on the soles of his boots "45," the number of the libellous issue of *The North Briton*; and Benjamin Franklin observed that number on nearly all the houses he saw within fifteen miles of London. The contest has become memorable in literature since it led to the able but bitter writing in support of Wilkes of an anonymous

person who styled himself "Junius." After Wilkes was expelled from the Commons, the voters of Middlesex re-elected him, but the House, now going beyond its powers, declared him incapable of sitting. When he was elected a third time, the House declared the rival candidate, Colonel Luttrell, who had received about one fifth of the votes, to be the elected member. The king closed the session amidst an outbreak of popular fury, and Wilkes lost his seat. But London delighted to do him honour, and made him successively alderman, sheriff, and lord mayor.

The birth of Radicalism.—In the end Wilkes gained his point. When, in 1774, he was unanimously elected, he was allowed to take his seat for Middlesex; in 1782, a new House of Commons even took the humiliating step, on Wilkes's own motion, of rescinding the resolution of 1769, by which he had been declared ineligible for a seat. Permanent results flowed from the Wilkes agitation. The right of a constituency to a free choice in electing a member was vindicated, and a new mode of appeal to public opinion was inaugurated. Great political meetings, hitherto unknown in England, had been held in support of Wilkes. From London the practice spread all over the country. Never before had the masses been appealed to in this way. The doings of Parliament came under full discussion; popular clubs were formed to oppose the influence of "The King's Friends"; and it was in this agitation that Radicalism was born.

The Gordon Riots, 1780.—The violent passions of the mob were soon again aroused, this time on a religious issue. It was still the law that a priest saying mass in England should be imprisoned for life, that a Roman Catholic must sell any horses he possessed for £5 each, if that sum were offered, and that no Roman Catholic might purchase land. In 1778 Sir George Savile persuaded Parliament to repeal these laws, but the half-mad Lord George Gordon led in a fanatical protest against this step. The lawless London mob took up the religious cry, and in June, 1780, broke out into riot. It destroyed some Roman Catholic

chapels; it burned Newgate and many other prisons, and released their inmates; and it destroyed some private houses, among them that of Lord Mansfield with his splendid library. All London was in danger; an observer counted thirty-six fires raging at one time. During the disturbances nearly three hundred were killed, and the Gordon Riots long remained a terrible reminder to Londoners of the brutal savagery lying dormant in that city. Yet it was not against the sturdy, courageous, obstinate and devout Briton who was their king, but against his ministers, that the mob was enraged. Even when most in the wrong, George III usually had public opinion behind him.

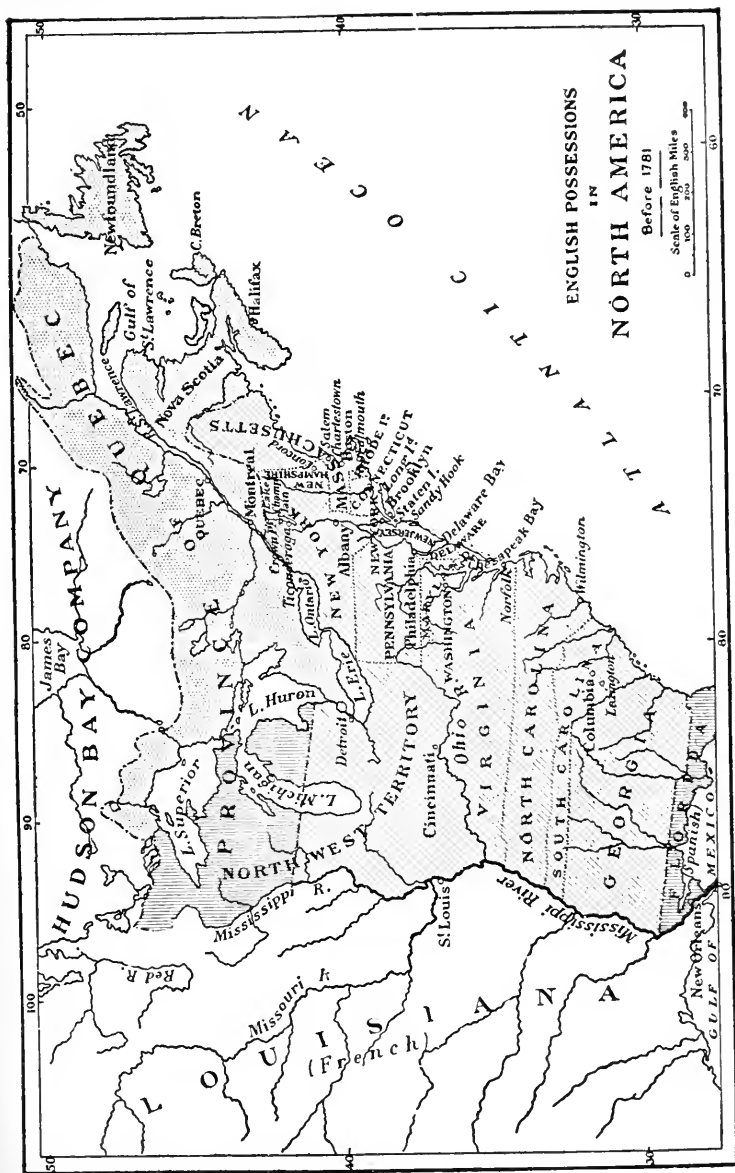
2. THE QUARREL WITH THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The growth of the American colonies.—Other things in the first half of the reign of George III fall into the background compared with the tremendous import of the American Revolution. The English colonies had been growing in importance. They had developed their own type of political life; most of their people had been born in America and were American, not English, in their tastes and views. If the political tie with these free peoples was to endure, great tact and caution were necessary. In the past British statesmen had been wise enough to leave the colonies alone. The colonists professed unbounded loyalty to the mother country, but it was the loyalty to his parent of the young man who is free to do as he likes, and who would quickly resent control and interference. A good many leaders in America were already a little ashamed of being thought mere colonists, and were sensitive about the airs of superiority which people in the home-land sometimes assumed. American pride was often wounded; for in England the practical independence of the colonies was not generally understood. Many regarded them as completely subject to the central government.

The taxes on account of the Seven Years' War.—Now a question arose affecting the liberty of the colonies, a

Before 1781

Scale of English Miles



question with which the narrow-minded and obstinate king was, of all persons, the least fitted to deal. It was right that the colonies should pay for their own defence. This was clear. Therefore George III and his ministers resolved to make them do so. The Seven Years' War had left Britain with a vast debt of £132,000,000, incurred largely on behalf of America. No doubt the British tax-payer derived indirect benefits from this expenditure; the widening of Britain's possessions had enlarged his markets, and poured into his country a vast stream of wealth. But landowners saw one thing with perfect clearness—that, to meet the cost of the late war, they were expected to bear the enormous load of a tax of four shillings on each pound of their income from land. Two shillings had seemed a heavy tax in Walpole's day (p. 376), and under the additional burden the temper of the squires became dangerous. The colonies had, however, suffered much by the war. They had raised twenty thousand troops and incurred large debts, while the territory won from France was not placed in any way under their control. It was a delicate task now to make clear to colonies and motherland alike their exact duty.

The Stamp Act, 1764.—Trouble with the colonies began at the outset of George's reign. Lord George Grenville, who, in 1763, succeeded Bute as prime minister, was a painstaking statesman. It is said that, while some of his predecessors had hardly opened the despatches, he lost America because he studied them. He made up his mind that the colonies should now pay the cost of their own defence. It was fitting that prosperous colonies should protect themselves. Philadelphia and Boston were flourishing cities, surpassed by only a few in the mother country. Grenville, however, made no effort to induce the thirteen colonial legislatures to vote the needed taxes. It was easier to pass an imperial act, and this he proceeded to do, apparently with no misgivings. Though the British Parliament had never ventured to tax even Ireland, a conquered country, in 1765 Grenville brought in a bill to tax the colonies. He proposed a stamp tax, because it could be collected cheaply

and easily. The British government was to issue stamps, and henceforth such papers as promissory notes, bills, bonds, leases, and insurance policies in the colonies were to be valid only when stamped. Newspapers, too, must pay a stamp

Pro Patria
The first Man that either
distributes or makes use of Stamp
Paper let him take Care of
his House, Person, & Effects.
Vox Populi;
We Dare

AN INTIMIDATING POSTER AGAINST OBEYING THE STAMP ACT

duty. The stamps were to be sold at government offices in the chief colonial centres.

The repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.—Grenville's bill excited but languid interest in England, and passed unopposed in an almost empty House. The government issued supplies of stamped paper and appointed officers to collect the revenue. But, though no trouble was foreseen, there was tumult in America. Representatives of nine colonies met at New York in October, 1765, and drew up a protest asserting that Parliament could not tax those who had in it no representation. Boston became the centre of agitation. Oliver, the secretary of the province of Massachusetts, had accepted the post of stamp distributor, and now the mob destroyed the stamp office and sacked his house and that of Hutchinson, the chief-justice. Merchants promised to order no goods, and even to pay no debts, in England, until the Act was repealed. Lawyers agreed not to use stamped paper. Boxes of stamps arriving from England were de-

stroyed. There followed a paralysis of legal business, and finally the colonial governments issued proclamations authorizing non-compliance with the law. Chatham assailed the Act, while at the same time claiming that Parliament was supreme over the colonies, and might legislate for, though it ought not to tax, them. Since the check to trade with America had caused distress in England, the views of Pitt prevailed. Grenville soon retired from office; a ministry led by the Marquis of Rockingham came in, and the Act was repealed in March, 1766. Yet Britain did not yield her claim to the right of taxation; at this same time Parliament passed a Declaratory Act asserting the complete supremacy of the British Parliament over the colonies.

Townshend's tax on American imports, 1767.—The repeal of the Stamp Act caused rejoicing in America. During the agitation, Philadelphia Quakers had worn only homespun; now, to show that the trouble was over, they resolved to wear on the king's birthday new suits of English manufacture. Statues were raised to the king and to Chatham, and the difficulty seemed ended. Yet, in the colonies, feeling had been definitely arrayed against the mother country and had taken a violent form, while in England there was resentment at this violence and at the refusal to share the burden of taxation. Time and tact might have allayed the irritation, but time was wanting for better conditions to mature. Rockingham was soon obliged to retire from office, and a ministry was formed in which Chatham was the real, but the Duke of Grafton the nominal, prime minister. Unhappily Chatham was now ill, and no one held the reins tightly. Charles Townshend, the young and clever, too clever, chancellor of the exchequer, needed money, and in January, 1767, he rose in the Commons and, to the amazement of his colleagues, promised to raise a considerable revenue by taxing the American colonies. New York had recently declined to furnish provisions for British troops quartered there, and Parliament was in an angry mood. Following Townshend's lead, it now imposed a duty, to be paid at American ports, on glass, painters' colours, paper,

and tea. It did more; to punish New York it suspended the powers of its legislature, and it provided for the strict enforcement of the laws which forbade the colonies to trade directly with foreign countries.

The "Boston Massacre," 1770.—After this legislation the trouble was incurable. To Britain the colonies seemed weak, and she expected to subdue them easily. George III urged his ministers to insist on "unconditional submission." But, determined to resist as the colonies were, they could not be coerced, except by vast forces. Samuel Adams, the chief leader in Massachusetts, was a bold and skilful agitator, and he soon stirred colonial opinion to fury. Massachusetts sent out a strong circular letter to the other colonies urging them to common action. When an order came from England that the letter should be recalled, the Assembly of Massachusetts refused to obey, and was promptly dissolved by the governor. Boston became so violent against this action and against the tax that troops were sent out from England to keep order. The inevitable bloodshed took place in 1770. Some British soldiers, harassed in the streets by a Boston mob, and hard pressed, at last fired upon the crowd, killing three or four.

North leaves only the tax on tea, 1770.—This "Boston Massacre" might have been followed by an immediate appeal to arms, had not a change come in the councils of the mother country. For ten years George had been trying to drive out the Whigs, and now, at last, bribery had secured for him a Tory majority. In 1770 the Tory, Lord North, took office. He accepted the views of George, that the king should himself direct the government, and did not consider himself prime minister in the sense in which Walpole had regarded that office. He was a man of high personal character, and had tact, wit, sweet temper, and a real knowledge of affairs. But the king dictated to him the policy which he should pursue, and his ministry of twelve years was destined to prove disastrous. At first, however, he quieted the trouble in America. Townshend's duties had brought in almost no revenue, but had caused

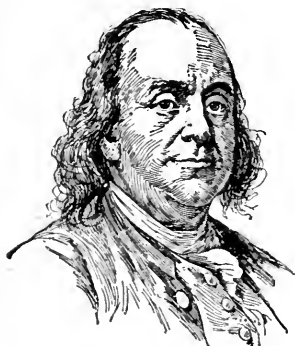
endless irritation. Lord North, quite willing to show that the Whigs had ruled badly, introduced, on the very day of the bloodshed in Boston, a bill repealing all the American duties except the tax on tea, which was retained merely to assert the right of the mother country to tax the colonies.

The burning of the *Gaspee*, 1772.—In spite of the conciliatory policy of Lord North, there was still much anger on both sides, and new causes of discord soon appeared. British ships were now patrolling the American coasts with orders to enforce strictly the Navigation Laws, long a dead letter, which forbade the colonies to carry on trade directly with other countries, and especially with the French colonies in the West Indies. One of these ships, the *Gaspee*, had exasperated the Rhode Islanders by interfering with their trade. In June, 1772, she ran aground near Providence, while chasing a suspected vessel, and the aggrieved traders had at length their opportunity. They attacked her at night, severely wounded her commander, removed the crew, and then set fire to the ship. The perpetrators of the outrage returned to Providence in broad daylight, and no reward could induce any one to give information against them.

The Boston tea ships, 1773.—The final crisis came in 1773. The East Indian Company was in financial difficulties and needed money. Having on hand a large stock of tea, it now secured leave from the British government to send tea to America at the low rate of duty of three pence a pound. As a shilling a pound was paid in England and had hitherto been charged in America, the low duty was really a boon to users of tea. This was, however, the one tax levied by Britain in America. Agitators had already declaimed against even drinking tea while the tax remained, and when they saw that tea was to be imported in immense quantities by a powerful corporation they stirred excitement in America to fever heat. At Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere, either the tea ships were turned back, without landing their cargoes, or the tea was stored in warehouses, pending an appeal to the British government. But at Boston more violent counsels prevailed. Some tea ships

lay in the harbour, and were about to land their cargoes when forty or fifty Bostonians, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded them at night, and emptied into Boston harbour the cargoes of tea valued at £18,000.

The first Continental Congress, 1774.—The "Boston tea party" roused the British nation, which girded itself to quell the rebellious spirit now manifest. Parliament passed drastic measures. It closed and blockaded the port of Boston, until the town should atone for the lawless deed, gave authority to the governor of Massachusetts to place a veto upon the Acts of the Assembly, and sent a soldier, General Gage, to replace Hutchinson, the civilian governor. Meanwhile, the colonies were arming. Virginia, in ardent sympathy with Massachusetts, invited a Continental Congress to meet



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
(1706-1790)

at Philadelphia in September, 1774. Twelve out of thirteen colonies sent representatives, and the movement was at once so formidable as to give pause to any one less obstinate than George III. The Congress asked for redress that involved the repeal of some dozen British Acts of Parliament. Instead of yielding, the British Parliament enacted further coercive measures. It had just furnished the colonies with a new grievance by passing the Quebec Act, which established a despotic government at Quebec to rule the territory recently acquired from France, and had placed under this government a great part of the vast interior of the continent. The Act also conferred large liberties upon the Roman Catholic Church. The measure led the colonies to fear that a plan was on foot to cancel their liberties and rule them as Quebec was ruled. They also resented bitterly the privileges granted to the Roman Catholic Church.

3. WAR WITH THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The second Continental Congress makes Washington commander-in-chief, 1775.—War was now close at hand. In April, 1775, when General Gage sent to seize some military stores which the colonists had collected at Concord, near Boston, colonial militia attacked his troops as they pressed through Lexington. A bloody engagement followed, in which the British lost some three hundred men, and the colonists about one hundred. When, a little later, the British found that the colonists had occupied and fortified a spur known as Breed's Hill on the Bunker Hill ridge, which overlooks Boston, they resolved to dislodge them. More than two thousand British troops attacked the position on the hill, but only after three times charging it and with a casualty list of more than a thousand, did they drive off the American defenders. Then, at last, it was clear how stern the struggle would be. The Continental Congress met for a second time in May, 1775. Though the leaders still protested that they did not wish separation from Great Britain, they were ready to fight for their liberties, and they now placed their forces under a capable man, George Washington, of Virginia. While a cultivated gentleman of large means, he had also seen hardy pioneer warfare (p. 382). No cause could have had a nobler leader.



GEORGE WASHINGTON
(1732-1799)

The invasion of Canada, 1775-1776.—The title Continental Congress which the Americans gave to their conference indicates the aim to unite the whole continent against Britain. There was ground for the hope that Canada would join them; for its people were almost wholly French and

could have but slight affection for their recent conqueror. In 1775, therefore, Washington sent two forces into Canada; the first captured Montreal; the second failed to take Quebec. A resolute British officer, Sir Guy Carleton, commanded in Canada at this time. Though closely shut up for the greater part of a winter within the walls of Quebec, he refused to make terms. Soon after the arrival of a British fleet in the spring of 1776, the Americans abandoned their enterprise, a proceeding which made it certain that Canada should remain British.

The American Declaration of Independence, 1776, and alliance with France, 1778.—It is possible to speak only briefly of the many events of the war. The Continental Congress met for the third time in 1776, and, on July 4th, it took the momentous step of issuing a Declaration of Independence. By this the colonies renounced all ties which linked them to Britain, and declared that they were states completely independent. Soon afterwards, they made an alliance with France, who was eager to avenge her recent defeat by Great Britain. Spain, anxious to recover Minorca and Gibraltar, also joined in the war, and in 1780 Holland did the same, hoping to end Britain's mastery of the sea. Enemies enough the island state certainly had. Nor was she at one with herself. The Whigs held that the colonies did right to resist "taxation without representation" in the body which taxed them. Chatham, though he had been the colleague of Charles Townshend, who imposed the tax on tea, thundered, with his remaining strength, against North and the Tories for their ruinous policy in America. The struggle was, indeed, a phase of Whig and Tory warfare. Chatham died in 1778 having failed wholly to win for the colonies concessions that should prevent separation.

British defeats at Saratoga, 1777 and Yorktown, 1781.—Two British defeats form the decisive feature of the war. The British general, Burgoyne, was to advance southward from Canada to the Hudson, while another force was to advance northward from New York and meet Burgoyne at Albany. By this movement the British hoped to separate

the more easterly colonies from the others, and then to crush the units in detail. The plan failed. No advance was made from New York to help Burgoyne, and he was obliged to surrender his whole force at Saratoga (October, 1777). The Americans had their own reverses. The British had defeated Washington at the Brandywine and had taken Philadelphia only a few weeks before the disaster at Saratoga. Washington was now very hard pressed, and the Continental Congress could raise little money. In the winter of 1777-8, when Washington's army was quartered at Valley Forge, in Pennsylvania, his men were half starved, and many of them, bare-footed and ill-clad, were unfit for duty. In spite of this, Britain could not conquer some millions of people spread out over a continent. So unpopular was the war at home that the mother country had difficulty in raising the few thousands of troops which she sent to America. She was obliged to hire German soldiers, and these foreign levies angered the colonists anew. They were, they said, to be shot down by hired minions. The second great British defeat came in 1781. Cornwallis, an able general, planned to concentrate the British forces for a decisive attack on Virginia. He took up a position on the sea-coast at Yorktown, in that state, and there awaited his reinforcements. Yorktown was approached from the landward side by a narrow peninsula. With the sea at his back Cornwallis thought himself safe. It happened, however, that France sent, just at this time, a powerful fleet to America. By a skilfully planned movement, Washington attacked Yorktown from the landward side at the same time that the French menaced it from the sea. Cornwallis was caught in a trap and forced to surrender (October, 1781). A few days later a British fleet arrived which could have saved him.

The defeat of Britain in the war.—The fall of Yorktown ended the war. "O God! it is all over," North cried, when the news came of the surrender of Cornwallis. He insisted upon resigning. George III had declared solemnly that he would abdicate rather than yield to the colonies

their independence, and he wished still to go on with the war. This was, however, impossible. In Europe, as well as in America, the position of Britain was critical. The unrest at home was shown by the terrible Gordon Riots in 1780 (p.395). Ireland was on the verge of revolution (p.409). Britain's naval position was menaced. She had been accustomed to stop and search neutral ships on the high seas, and to confiscate the goods of the enemy found in them. She had, too, declared ports of the enemy in a state of blockade and had seized the ships of neutrals venturing to trade with such ports. In protest against these claims, Russia led, in 1780, in forming a league of northern powers who established an "armed neutrality" and proclaimed that they would not respect "paper blockades" and that only actual blockade by a naval force could prevent their trade with the ports of a nation at war. Britain's many enemies seemed now on the eve of triumph. France and Spain had besieged Gibraltar for more than three years, and, in 1782, its fall seemed so certain that the supposed capture was represented on the stage in Paris. It was time for Britain to yield in spite of an obstinate king.

Treaty of Paris and of Versailles, 1783.—In November, 1782, with Lord Shelburne as prime minister, terms of peace were agreed to, by which George recognized the independence of the United States. In 1783, the Peace of Paris ended the war with the United States, while that of Versailles closed the struggle with France and Spain. Just twenty years earlier Britain had reached a high pinnacle of glory, but now she had been brought low, chiefly through the obstinacy of the king. Though she lost her old colonies, she saved Canada and Nova Scotia. Her position in India remained secure. She yielded Minorca to Spain, but, in spite of the terrible siege, retained Gibraltar. Considering the depth of her fall, it is surprising that she was able to retain so much. Her capacity to do so must be ascribed chiefly to her strength on the sea, which was still greater than that of any other power.

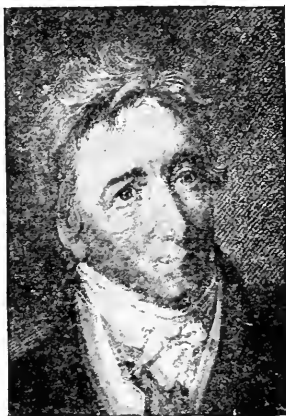
4. THE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND

The condition of Ireland.—The American Revolution led to the legislative independence of Ireland. Since the defeat of James II (p. 349), Ireland had been helpless. The great mass of her people were in what was really a state of bondage to alien landlords, who held most of the soil of Ireland. It was well adapted to pasturage (p. 4), and its owners preferred the rearing of flocks and herds to the use of land for agriculture. As a rule, the peasant could get but a small holding, and remained in a condition of grinding poverty. He had no vote, and, since there were almost no schools, his children grew up in careless ignorance. At this time, certainly, the Irish drank to the dregs the cup of bitterness. Little wonder that many of the strong and self-reliant left the country. Yet one advantage emerged. The old clan system, which had kept the Irish divided, had been long dead. Now its feuds and rivalries were also forgotten, and in these days of sorrow many of the Irish people learned a new sense of unity.

The restrictions on Irish trade.—Ireland had her Parliament, but it represented only the Protestant minority; no Roman Catholic sat there, and in its devotion to the Anglican Church of Ireland it had persecuted even Presbyterians. For a long time, the Parliament existed simply to make Ireland the handmaid of England; she had to accept the policy of the stronger country. Yet the men who sat in it were, after all, Irishmen, whose interests were bound up with Ireland. The laws which oppressed Ireland oppressed them too. They might not send to England cattle, sheep, or pigs, alive or dead; they might not even send butter and cheese, lest the English farmer should have competitors. Ireland might not export woollen goods even to a foreign country, lest English manufacturers should suffer from her rivalry. Her trade with the English colonies was restricted in the same way. These limitations bore heavily on Protestant and Roman Catholic alike. Only one manufacture, the linen industry, was left unchecked and allowed to flourish in Ireland.

The demand of Ireland for independence.—As time went on, the sense of grievance became more marked. It was the American Revolution which brought it to a head. When the Americans took up arms against oppression by Great Britain, the Irish began to think of a similar remedy for their own grievances. They suffered from the war, since it ruined, for the time, their one prosperous trade, that in linen. Thousands lost their employment and the distress was soon acute. A cry arose for the opening of new markets to Ireland by the freeing of her trade. Of course the demand was angrily opposed in England. The Irish, however, were now in earnest. On the pretext that the regular troops were employed elsewhere and that the country was defenceless against foreign attack, they began to arm. Volunteering became fashionable; eighty thousand volunteers were under arms in Ireland. They were all Protestants; as the law stood no Roman Catholic might bear arms.

The independence of Ireland secured, 1782.—Henry Grattan, a man of high character and great eloquence, took the lead in the demand for liberty for Ireland. The first step was to secure free trade. In 1779, the Irish Parliament passed an address demanding this reform, and presented it to the lord-lieutenant with a display of armed force, intended to be threatening. In consequence, the British Parliament passed acts, in 1780, removing most of the restrictions on Irish trade. But this was not enough. Under Poynings' Law (p. 186) and later



HENRY GRATTAN (1750-1820)

Acts, the British Parliament had the right to legislate for Ireland, and, as long as this was the case, might impose new restrictions. Step by step Grattan now moved toward

his goal of complete independence for the Irish Parliament. England, at war in Europe and America, was in no position to resist, and by 1782 he had gained his end. The Irish Parliament repealed all laws admitting control by England, and the British Parliament passed an Act renouncing any claim to legislate for Ireland. At last Ireland seemed to be free. But only the Protestant element was really free. The poverty-stricken Irish peasant still paid the tithe to support a church regarded by him as heretical. Though four fifths of Ireland was Roman Catholic, no Roman Catholic sat in Parliament. Moreover, the British cabinet still named the lord-lieutenant, who carried on the government of Ireland, and who, if Parliament was troublesome, might, in those corrupt days, buy up a majority. All was not clear sailing for Grattan's Parliament. In time it might have done well, but time was not given. A few years later began the French Revolution, which was to bring upheaval to Ireland as to every other country in Europe.

5. THE FOUNDING OF AUSTRALIA

The discovery of Australia, 1788.—The effects of the American Revolution reached the far southern sea. The great continent of Australia had lain there in savage isolation for untold ages. The ancient world knew nothing of it and its few degraded aborigines. Navigators who crossed the Pacific in the sixteenth century missed it, until Torres, a Spaniard, apparently came in sight of it in 1606. In 1642 the enterprising Dutch, for the time dominant in the East Indies, sent Tasman to look for the long-talked-of continent. He reached Tasmania and New Zealand. But no colonization of this "New Holland" followed. Dampier, a half-piratical sea-rover, was the first known Englishman to set foot in Australia. This was in 1688, and, for about a century thereafter, Europe left the South Sea to its native occupants. At last a great mariner took up the work of discovery. In 1769 Captain James Cook, who had been with Wolfe at Quebec and had charted the St. Lawrence, sailed

round Cape Horn to New Zealand and mapped its coasts. He raised the British flag in Australia, at Botany Bay, but made no attempt at settlement in the southern continent.

The convict settlement at Sydney.—Then came the American Revolution. For a long time convicts had been sent out from Britain to work on the American plantations. But with the Revolution this practice of course stopped, and then the British government found itself burdened each year with some five hundred convicts, of whom it had formerly rid itself without expense. Only when Britain decided henceforth to send them as colonists to Australia did Australian history really begin. In January, 1788, two British men-of-war, six transports, and three store-ships sailed into Botany Bay. Of the eleven hundred on board, seven hundred and fifty were convicts. A few days later, two French ships arrived off the coast. They may have had some intention of raising the French flag, and the saying that Britain won Australia by six days has this basis of truth. Phillip, the leader of the British expedition, decided to make his settlement, not at Botany Bay, but at what is now Sydney. Convicts are not good colonists, and there was much disorder. The land, however, was fertile; in time great mineral wealth was found, and out of this unpromising beginning came a new Britain in the Southern Sea.

TOPICS

I. Bute's failure and its causes. In what way George III practised corruption. The attack on Wilkes, and what came from it.

II. Was the Stamp Act wise? How the tax on tea came to be imposed, and why it was retained. What caused the Boston tea riots? Why the Quebec Act irritated the colonies.

III. What the battle on Bunker Hill proved. The Declaration of Independence and its results. Why Britain was defeated in the war. The terms of peace in 1783.

IV. How the American Revolution led to the independence of the Irish Parliament.

V. The effect of the American Revolution on Australia.

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIETY IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE

The growth of population.—The eighteenth century, though it lacks the depth and fervour of conviction so notable, for instance, in the Puritan age, was really a great epoch. We find in operation most of the tendencies which we call modern. The abolition of slavery, the better care of the poor, the wider extension of the right to vote, were already keenly debated. Though prolonged war at the close of the century checked these reforms, other improvements were effected. The age saw the practical end of religious persecution and of the bribery of members of Parliament which had gone on since the party system began. Intelligence increased among the people. Population, which, in the past, had not advanced for long periods, also increased. William the Conqueror ruled almost as many Englishmen as did Edward IV, but the six million people in England in 1750 had multiplied to nine million by 1800. Improved industry and improved agriculture were the causes of this development. In the nineteenth century, it became so marked that the population multiplied fourfold.

Roads and travel.—The England which George III began to rule in 1760 differed in many ways from the England of our time. There were still vast stretches of forest; a great part even of a centrally situated county like Essex was wooded. In modern England we admire the many excellent roads; but so slight was then the travel from place to place that, apart from the few main highways, roads hardly existed, and wheeled vehicles were rarely seen in country parts. Only once a month was there a coach from London to

Edinburgh, and the journey occupied sixteen days; any one who wished to make it rapidly went by sea. To reach foreign countries was not easy. Ships had sometimes to wait for days, or even weeks, for a favourable wind. There were few quays for landing, and passengers were often lowered into open boats miles from shore. Travel was so costly as to be a privilege of the rich.

Improvements in communications.—Few things affect the well-being of society more than ease of communication. Ideas as well as merchandise circulate when we can move readily from one place to another.

The improvement of transportation in the eighteenth century illustrates this truth in a striking way. After the rising of 1715 in Scotland, General Wade built military highways across the Highlands. This not only ended disorder by making possible the rapid concentration of troops, but it brought those remote regions into direct touch with the thought and life of the outer world. Before 1800, many new roads were built in England. To meet the cost of keeping them



JAMES BRINDLEY (1716-1772)

up tolls were charged, and toll-gates have disappeared only in recent times. In this age, too, canals opened up the interior of England to communication by water. James Brindley, an engineer in the service of the Duke of Bridgewater, planned a canal from the duke's coal-pits at Worsley to Manchester. Such a canal would have to be carried across the river Irwell by a high level aqueduct. This project was scouted as impossible, but the canal was completed in 1761. The effect of this cheap means of transport was felt at once; in Manchester the price of coal fell quickly by one half. Soon a network of canals brought remote parts of England into touch with the sea-board and made

it easy to carry the heaviest articles to all parts of the kingdom.

The defects of agriculture.—The well-being of any state is closely related to its agriculture. Mother earth was made much more productive in England, in the eighteenth century, than she had been in any previous age. During the reign of Elizabeth sheep farming had been general, and single landowners often had flocks of more than twenty thousand sheep. In time wool-growing became less profitable; in the seventeenth century mixed farming gained ground, but until the time of George II English agriculture was very primitive. The old methods of the mediæval manor (p. 133) were still in vogue. More than half of the cultivated land was farmed on the open field system, under which the villagers worked in partnership. Villages had three great fields; in one, each year, wheat or rye would be sown; in the second, oats, barley, pease, or beans; and the third would lie fallow. Usually a farmer had about six acres in each of the three fields, and he had also about two acres of meadow, together with rights of pasturage and of cutting wood on the rough uncleared land. Until the harvest, he looked after his own acres, marked off in strips by balks of turf. His strips were often widely scattered in the great fields, and much time was lost in going to and from them. After the harvest, the fences were opened, and all the villagers then turned their cattle into the fields.

Improvements in agriculture.—Under this system, a village still formed a community that supplied most of its few wants. The villagers manufactured their own rude farm implements, carved from wood their own spoons, bowls, and platters, brewed their own beer, and made their own homespun clothing, leather boots, and harness. They had few calls to go from home, and they saw but little of the outside world. No doubt the open field system, by forcing the tiller of the soil to supply many of his home needs, made him more skilful with his hands than he is now. Not the less was it wasteful and unprogressive. It held every man down to the level of his neighbours. The narrow strips of

land, separated by turf and bushes, made thorough ploughing impossible, there was little drainage or manuring, and in the great open fields a lack of variety in crops was inevitable. Nor could live stock make much advance. Since the cattle of all the farmers were herded together, improved breeding was impossible, and diseases were readily communicated. Turnips and clover, so essential to modern stock-raising, were little cultivated; for want of fodder only a few of the animals could be kept throughout the winter, and these were in a half-starved condition. Above all, the small farmers of the village had not the intelligence or the capital to undertake great improvements. These were required by the new agriculture of the eighteenth century. The names of Jethro Tull (*d.* 1741) and Lord Townshend (*d.* 1738) deserve honour from all interested in the cultivation of land. Tull found by experiment what is to us a commonplace, that, for the best results, the soil must be thoroughly worked and stirred. By this means he made his own land vastly more productive, and is really the pioneer in modern scientific farming. Townshend, who had been Walpole's colleague, but could not brook that masterful spirit, retired to his estate in Norfolk, and studied so successfully the cultivation of the turnip, that he came to be known as "Turnip" Townshend.

Inclosures and the ruin of the yeoman class.—The new agriculture came at the right moment. British industry was developing, the population was increasing rapidly, and there was a ready market for food products. The new tillage probably increased fivefold the fertility of the soil. But it destroyed the open field system. As the demand for bread and beef was great, landowners found it profitable to put large capital into agriculture. The lack of capital ruined the small farmer; he could not farm his holding profitably; and the rich landowner, anxious to secure more land, bought up his rights, removed the balks of turf that disfigured the fields, and farmed on a large scale. By the early years of the nineteenth century the open field system had well-nigh disappeared. In many cases, even

the open spaces, or commons, formerly free to all the villagers, had been inclosed by the landlord as his private property. For each case of inclosure a special Act of Parliament was necessary; but in the first forty years of the reign of George III about three million acres were so inclosed. The villagers were paid for what they gave up; land, formerly barren, soon produced rich harvests; the farms increased enormously in value; and if England was to feed her own population the change was necessary. None the less did it involve painful results, which Goldsmith has effectively portrayed in his *Deserted Village* (1770). The small landowner, the sturdy yeoman class, which had done so much in the past (p. 170), almost disappeared. The tiller of the soil, who had owned a piece of land, became now a mere hired labourer. Sometimes by vexatious law-costs and unjust treatment he secured little for what he gave up, and for him inclosure meant robbery. The English farm labourer of to-day, sunk in stolid ignorance, and living often in sordid discomfort, is probably far inferior to the average cultivator under the open field system; this deterioration was an inevitable but high price to pay for improved agriculture. The very increase of population made the labourer's lot harder, for the problem of housing became serious, and unsanitary overcrowding common.

2. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The growth of the cotton and other trades.—Remarkable changes in manufacturing industries accompanied those in agriculture. Before the eighteenth century, cotton was little known in England, and, when this rival to wool first appeared, every effort was made to check its use. Enraged weavers, seeing the woollen trade in danger, sometimes tore cotton textures from the backs of ladies in the streets. Parliament also came to the aid of the woollen trade by enacting that all over six years old should wear on Sundays and holidays woollen caps made in England, and

that all persons should be buried in woollen. A law of 1721 forbade the wearing of printed calicoes, and in 1766 a lady was fined £200 for having a handkerchief of French cambric. Yet the cotton and linen industries grew. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, and his new school of political economy urged that the state should leave industry a free hand. The cotton trade, no longer checked, soon became vastly more extensive even than the woollen, and both remain staple industries, the source of great wealth. Silk-weaving, too, was introduced into England, though the home growth of the silk-worm did not prove successful, and pottery became an important industry, as the use of porcelain tableware increased.

The use of steam power and the invention of machinery.—The increased use of machinery is the most striking feature of the industry of the eighteenth century. In 1765 James Watt invented the steam-engine, and by 1785 he had so perfected it that it became, henceforth, the chief source of power for factories. At the same time better methods of coal-mining furnished a cheap supply of coal for the production of steam power. This supply of power stimulated the invention of machines and facilitated especially the processes of spinning and weaving. Many were the inventions. John Kay patented the flying shuttle in 1733; Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny in 1764; Arkwright's spinning-frame came into use in 1769; Cartwright's power-loom, in 1785. The fact that money could be borrowed at three per cent. made it possible to obtain cheaply the needed capital for great industrial enterprises. The keenest minds of the time were busy with plans for productive industry. While the continent of Europe was desolated by war, England, free from invasion, could give her best thought to such matters. The result was that she built up a vast commerce half a century before other states had awakened to the needs of the age.

The drawbacks of the industrial revolution.—The use of machinery meant the ruin of the small hand industries to be found in many poor households, and it was natural

that men who thus lost their means of livelihood should dislike the inventions. Mobs sometimes broke up the machines, burned the factories which contained them, and even attacked the inventors, a few of whom were obliged to go to foreign countries to carry on their experiments. No doubt the changes involved severe loss to many workmen. On the other hand, the use of machinery, by cheapening the cost of commodities, enlarged the consumption, and thus increased the demand for labour. Yet the new conditions were less wholesome than the old. Instead of remaining in their own cottages, work-people were now crowded into great factories, often under unsanitary conditions. Children could work some of the machines, and, since this labour was cheap, a great many were employed in the factories, when they should have been at play. The result was injury to the children of the nation. When trade was good, many persons found work readily enough and earned high pay, but slackness in trade left them in need of relief. The attempt to give it led, about 1795, to a system of weekly doles to able-bodied men, if they were not earning enough to support their families. Soon the principle was laid down that every needy family was entitled to an allowance in proportion to its numbers. Idle and industrious shared alike, and the Poor Laws demoralized English village life for nearly half a century, until they were reformed under William IV.

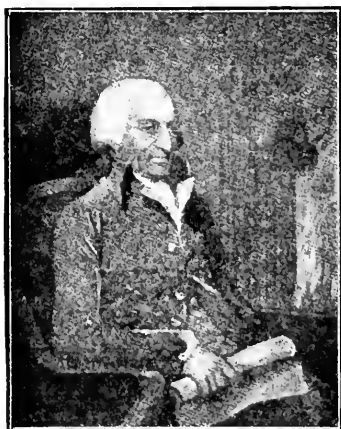
3. CRIMES AND CRIMINALS

The severity of the criminal law.—The laws of England were ill-suited to the needs of the time. Only in 1733 was it provided that legal documents should be in English only, and not in Latin or French. For many generations the laws had recognized that there was such a thing as witchcraft, and punished it with cruel tortures and death; not until 1736 were these atrocious punishments abolished. The penalties of crime were barbarously severe, and were also unjust. The property-owners, who made the laws, naturally looked upon offences against property as the most

heinous; to steal a horse or a sheep, to pick a pocket of more than a shilling, to steal goods from a shop, to destroy maliciously a tree in a garden, were all punishable with death; while graver moral offences, such as attempted murder, and false swearing which might cause the execution of an innocent person, were more lightly punished. A servant who had wounded his master fifteen times with a hatchet, in an attempt at murder, was executed, not for this offence, but for burglary in entering the room. Since the penalty for trifling theft was death, juries and judges acquitted obviously guilty persons rather than inflict so terrible a punishment. Undue severity of the law thus caused crime to be condoned, not punished; and accused persons, relying on this forbearance, sometimes preferred to be tried on a capital charge. Usually, it seems, there were not more than fifty executions in London in the course of a single year; and when we compare this record with the immense number of thefts, in days without police, we see that the rigour of the law was more nominal than real. Yet even this number of executions was dreadful. Every six weeks a procession of criminals passed through the streets of London from the prison at Newgate to the gallows at Tyburn, and ribald crowds flocked to see the last grim spectacle.

The condition of the prisons.—The old method of discouraging crime by exposing the remains of criminals was still in vogue. Travellers entering London by the Edgware Road passed rows of rotting corpses hung on gibbets, and often arrayed in full dress and wig. Grinning skulls of executed offenders lined the top of Temple Bar. In other ways crime was made to seem odious. Men and women were flogged through the London streets, or fastened helpless in the public pillory, to be pelted sometimes to death by cruel and mischievous idlers. The London prisons were crowded, and many of those confined were not criminals, but debtors held until they should make payment; often the debtor's family remained with him in prison, and children were thus reared in the tainted atmosphere of the jail. To be sent to prison even to await trial was itself

a terrible punishment. Trials were delayed sometimes for months, in remoter places for even two or three years; and, meanwhile, the accused might be herded with companions from the most depraved classes. He might be unable to observe the usual decencies of life, and was perhaps dependent upon charity for food; for it was not yet the recognized duty of the state to feed those whom it kept in custody. The English prisons were probably the worst in Europe. Descriptions of their terrible condition have been left on record by John Howard, the great prison reformer, who began his work in 1773. Many prisoners were kept chained. Windows were as few as possible, for each window was taxed; and the dark and cheerless dungeons, in which many prisoners spent the greater part of the time, had such a pestilential atmosphere that Howard's memorandum-book, carried through a prison, was unfit for use until he



JOHN HOWARD (1726-1790)

had dried it for an hour or two before a fire. After his visits, his clothes so reeked with the prison smell, that he could not drive in a covered coach, but had to ride on horseback. Bred from these unsanitary conditions, a terrible prison fever, like the present typhus, and peculiar to England, carried off more than the gallows claimed. Judge and jury sometimes took the disease from sitting in the tainted atmosphere of the court room where the

prisoners were tried.

The lack of police.—Yet, in spite of the penalties of crime, England was a lawless country. One chief reason was, that, while crime was terribly punished, the means of preventing it were little studied. Well-trained police-

men who, though not soldiers, are yet a disciplined force, guard the streets of the modern city; but, in the eighteenth century, police, in our sense, were unknown. The few constables maintained by each town were not sufficient to check the lawless elements in time to prevent serious harm. When disorder had grown serious and endangered public peace, the soldiers were called out. During the Gordon Riots of June, 1780, a rabble of sixty thousand threatened members who tried to make their way to the Houses of Parliament. Only after the crowd became violent were some troopers called to the scene. These, declaring that their sympathies were with the mob, rode away, and for days London was given over to unchecked disorder. A small body of policemen, acting with energy at the beginning, would probably have prevented the trouble.

The lawlessness of England.—In 1767, and for some years thereafter, we find dreadful outbreaks of violence in London. A householder named Green was besieged for hours in his house by a mob armed with firearms, and no guardian of the peace appeared. Green himself escaped from the place, but his sister was dragged into the street and murdered. In broad daylight, a mob of two thousand persons stoned to death, near Bethnal Green, a person who was obnoxious to them, and, in spite of his entreaties for a speedy death, they protracted his agonies for two hours. The streets of London were so unsafe throughout the eighteenth century, that even royal persons were stopped and robbed; a highwayman once dropped over the wall of Kensington Gardens and, with every expression of respect, took from George II himself, who was walking there alone, his purse, watch, and shoe buckles. The mail-coaches were special objects of attack, and were often stopped on the highways. These attacks ceased only in 1792 when an armed guard was sent with the mails. Smugglers landed their cargoes on the Suffolk coast, and armed convoys sometimes escorted the goods into the interior in defiance of the forces of the law. Piracy was still a danger to sea-going commerce. Early in

the eighteenth century a pirate named Roberts cruised the high seas with some armed ships and carried on bold depredations. At last, in 1722, Chaloner Ogle won knight-hood by a clever attack on the pirate fleet; Roberts himself was killed, and fifty-two of his men were hanged in chains at Cape Coast Castle.

4. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Gambling and drinking.—The rapid growth of wealth had an evil effect upon morals. In the reign of Anne, gambling was so widespread that an Act of Parliament made invalid transfers of property to pay gambling debts. George III had the tastes of a refined country gentleman, and forbade gaming in the royal palaces. But dreams of great riches infected the upper classes, and stakes at play were so heavy that sometimes £100,000 changed hands at a single sitting. The state, if not the king, encouraged gambling by the holding of annual public lotteries. This evil of gaming went on unchecked throughout the century, with ruin and suicide as its frequent accompaniments; when only twenty-three, the sister of the unfortunate General Braddock hanged herself because she had gambled away her property. Drunkenness was common in all ranks of society. The upper classes drank wine in quantities that now astound us. Six gallons of spirits for each head of population were consumed then to one now. Dr. Johnson tells us that respectable people of his native Lichfield were drunk every night, and no one thought the worse of them. The common people drank gin because it was cheap; and gin shops openly made the offer that in them people might get drunk for a penny, dead-drunk for twopence, and have straw to lie on for nothing. It was in this age that the sight of women frequenting public bars, which still amazes people of other nations, became familiar in England.

Dress and distinctions of rank.—Increased national wealth brought improvements as well as abuses. The trade which the British carried on in all parts of the world greatly

increased the comforts of every class. Even the poor now drank tea, long regarded as an expensive luxury. They might also have greater variety in their food,—potatoes, turnips, carrots, and cabbage, wheaten bread, and frequently beef or mutton. In the fashionable world the dinner was now as late as five, though conservative Oxford still dined at twelve or one. Poor guests complained that, when they dined with a great man, his servants stood in a line at the exit, each expecting a present; and often this expense made it impossible to accept hospitality. The dress of women was not radically different from what it is now, though the arrangement of the hair was often so elaborate that they kept it undisturbed for days, and were able to lie down only with discomfort. Until toward the end of the century men of fashion wore long powdered hair, or wigs; and dressed in bright colours, with rich cuffs and frills of lace; but about 1783 Charles James Fox, who was a leader in fashion as well as in politics, began to dress less elaborately by way of a return to republican simplicity. Those who spoke in the House of Commons gradually ceased to wear court dress and swords; bishops left off their purple and the lower clergy their cassocks. Before the century closed, venturesome youth cut its hair short. By that time, to carry an umbrella in the street no longer attracted attention, though when this was first done a jeering crowd was likely to follow the innovator. Manners became less formal and the phrases of courtesy less studied. But distinctions of rank, which have since yielded so much to the freer spirit of the modern era, were still rigidly marked. With a few strictly defined exceptions, unless a man had a freehold of £100 a year or a leasehold of £150 he might not



GENTLEMEN'S COSTUME
AT THE BEGINNING OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
(Portrait of John Law).

fish or hunt even in his own grounds. The noblemen held aloof from the country gentlemen, and it was the noblemen who ruled the land; the younger Pitt was himself the only commoner in the ministry when he first took office, and even he was the son of a peer. The landowners were however, no longer the only power in the state, and riches were passing to the trading classes. Yet it was still a cause of wonder to many that tradesmen should keep private carriages. No matter how rich any of the tradesmen might have become, George III refused to create peers from this class.

The slave-trade and duelling.—Human life was still but lightly regarded. In spite of determined foes the slave-trade went on throughout the century, and fully seventy-five thousand negroes were carried annually in slave-ships amid conditions so horrible that about one half perished or were permanently injured. In 1783 the master of the *Zong*, a British slave-ship, threw overboard one hundred and thirty-two negroes. He claimed that a storm made this step



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
(1759-1833)

necessary; but it was proved that sickness was raging among the negroes, and that, on the plea of a storm, they were destroyed, so that the insurance companies should have to pay for them. Such brutality stimulated the movement for the abolition of the slave-trade, a movement in which William Wilberforce was the leader. At last the trade was abolished in 1807. Duelling, which also involved the needless sacrifice of life, still flourished. To kill in a duel was by law the same as murder; yet even moral leaders like Wilberforce

thought the practice a social necessity in defence of honour. Not until the nineteenth century did it die out in England.

5. LITERATURE

The novelists.—English prose, which reached such perfection in the essay writers of the age of Anne, was to find under the Georges a new form of expression, the novel. We find tellers of stories earlier than this, the greatest of them the author of *Robinson Crusoe* (p. 265). But such stories of adventure differ from a novel, which really involves a tale of love, worked up to a sad or a happy conclusion. In 1740, Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), a successful London bookseller, published *Pamela*, the first novel. His later books *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Sir Charles Grandison* are better than *Pamela*, and all are love stories concerned with the struggle of virtue against vice; they mark, indeed, a revival of popular Puritanism which differs in expression from that of the days of Bunyan, but is not less real. They are full of intense and vivid emotion, and were read with absorbing interest not only in England but also in France. Other writers were quick to follow Richardson. Henry Fielding (1707-1754) ridiculed the virtuous tone of *Pamela* in *Joseph Andrews*, and later wrote *Tom Jones*, a novel which surpassed anything of Richardson's in the interest of the plot and in brutal truthfulness to life. Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) published *Roderick Random* in 1748. Less than ten years thus sufficed to create a varied literature of this type. In 1766 appeared *The Vicar of Wakefield*, by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), a delightful novel dealing with the simple lives of country people. *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey* of Lawrence Sterne (1713-1768) are hardly novels, since they have no plot, but they are full of the qualities of sentiment and emotion found in the novel.

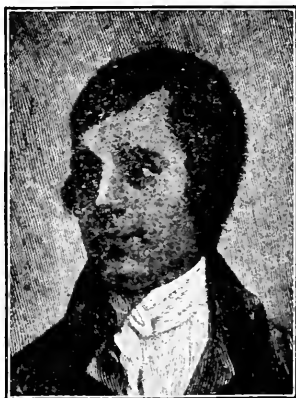
The historians.—English prose had other triumphs in this age. David Hume (1711-1776) is now chiefly remembered as a philosopher, but he wrote history which had a great reputation in its day. The style of his *History of England* is clear and polished, and the book, though too partizan in its point of view, long remained a standard work. Another

Scot, William Robertson (1721-1793) showed in his *History of Charles V* and in his *History of America* both insight and style. The age had, however, a greater historian than Hume or Robertson. Edward Gibbon (1727-1794) finished in 1788 his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The style is grandiose, with too many high sounding words, but it is, none the less, brilliant; and Gibbon remains on the whole the greatest historian that England has yet produced.

Other writers.—No book in the eighteenth century had a greater effect upon society than *The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith (1723-1790), which appeared in 1776. His view that restrictions on trade and on the right to work must do injury and not benefit to all concerned made him the founder of modern Free Trade. The deepest thinker of the time on political questions was Edmund Burke (1729-1797). He saw a ferment in society which was to result in an age of revolution, and his *Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontent*, written in 1770, is a plea for government by the trained and educated classes. He worked to avert the American Revolution, and later when the French Revolution broke out, he attacked its excesses with vigour in his *Reflections on the French Revolution* and other writings. The literary dictator of the age was Samuel Johnson (1709-1784). He was long a hack writer in London. In 1755 appeared his *Dictionary of the English Language*, a book much needed. His other chief work is *The Lives of the Poets*. We remember Johnson less for what he wrote than for his kindly, rugged character and common-sense. His admiring friend, James Boswell, made notes of Johnson's words from day to day, and his *Life of Johnson*, the greatest of English biographies, gives us a vivid picture of the man, a blunt and honest Tory, filled with passionate devotion to his king and country.

The poets.—When Pope died in 1744 a revolt had already begun against his narrow rules of poetic art, and the divorce of poetry from nature. James Thomson (1700-1748) finished in 1730 his *Seasons* in which he describes Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter with real feeling for nature.

We find this in more striking form in *The Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, by Thomas Gray (1716-1771). In this poem the sights and sounds of a rural village are depicted as affecting greatly the mood of man. *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village* of Oliver Goldsmith are full of "sweet human emotion." William Cowper (1731-1800) takes simple delight in nature for her own sake, and watches closely her changing moods. His *Task* is a description of quiet country life. *John Gilpin* shows that Cowper had humour, and his deep and often gloomy religious feeling found expression in his hymns, some of which are still popular. There is a great gulf between Pope and Cowper. Pope was artificial; Cowper was natural, in touch with the many phases of human life. It was left for a Scottish ploughman to rival Cowper in some qualities of his genius. Robert Burns (1759-1796) expresses in his poetry the deepest emotions of man's nature. Not since the age of Elizabeth had love songs been written so full of genuine passion. Burns had the sturdy pride of the Scottish peasant, and, in days when rank counted for much, championed the dignity of the humble: "a man's a man for a' that." Like Cowper, he shows tender affection for dumb animals. Literary men in Edinburgh would have had Burns write only in correct English, but he used the Scottish dialect, to him the forceful language of nature, and no one can regret that he put in this effective form his exquisite songs, his keenly humorous *Tam O'Shanter*, and *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, a touching picture of a peasant's home. Dissipated habits injured his genius and may have shortened his life. No one has surpassed him as a master of lyric verse.



ROBERT BURNS

6. THE STATE OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION

The work of John Wesley.—The fiery religious controversies of a century and a half had so wearied men's minds that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, religion itself was discredited and spiritual enthusiasm was frowned upon as in bad taste. The evil habits of the time, the terrible state of the prisons, the gross ignorance of the masses, called for special zeal from the clergy, but little was done until the rise of a great



JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791)

reformer. John Wesley (1703-1791) while still a student at Oxford had organized a band of men for prayer and good work with such method that they were nicknamed Methodists. Wesley became a clergyman of the Church of England. From reading Luther on the Epistle to the Galatians, he learned, like Luther, to lay the chief stress in religious teaching on personal faith in Christ. On account of his supposed mistaken zeal, he was, in 1742,

refused leave to preach in the church at his birthplace, Epworth, of which his father had been rector. He preached instead in the churchyard, standing on his father's tomb; hundreds were impressed by his words, and for more than forty years he continued the work thus begun. George Whitfield, another clergyman of remarkable eloquence, aided him, until they quarrelled on a question of doctrine. Services were sometimes held in churches, but as often in the open air, on village greens, in narrow city streets, on hillsides; once, at least, Wesley spoke from the roof of a pig-sty. Whitfield sometimes preached to audiences numbering ten thousand.

The Methodists leave the Church of England.—Both Whitfield and Wesley penetrated to the remotest parts of England, and their zeal carried them to America. In

each year Wesley travelled, usually on horseback, about six thousand miles, and preached about a thousand times. His life is an amazing record of hard work. He often preached at five o'clock in the morning, and at that hour could draw a multitude, who would stay to listen to him even amid torrents of rain. Unfriendly mobs sometimes stoned him and his preachers, or flogged them, or threw them into the water; but this did not keep even delicate women from taking part in the brave work. Wesley's own desire was that the religious societies which he founded should not break the tie with the Church of England; he held no services during church hours, and at his meetings no sacraments were administered. But, soon after his death, the Methodists severed their connection with the Church of England, and formed an independent organization. His work reached the classes hitherto neglected, and became a powerful factor in English civilization. Other forces promoted the same end. Before the close of the century Sunday Schools for teaching religious truths to children were established everywhere, Robert Raikes, of Bristol, being the leader of the movement.

The defects of education.—During the greater part of the century secular education made little progress in England. Scotland and Prussia had, at this time, a system of elementary education, under which even poor village children were carefully taught. England, however, was far less advanced. The view prevailed that education was not the task of the government; and private persons and the churches were left to do as much or as little as they liked. Not until near the end of the next century, in 1870, was the problem taken up by the state, and meanwhile the injury to the national life was incalculable. There were some good schools, such as Eton and Winchester, for the well-to-do, though the pupils were taught almost nothing but Greek and Latin. The English universities were in a torpid condition, and did more to furnish comfortable livings for their officials than to enlighten their students. Though making progress, the

practice of medicine was still hampered by tradition. During the century, Guy's and other great London hospitals were founded, but disease was still considered by most practitioners a mark of excessive strength which required frequent blood-letting. Smallpox was the most baneful malady of the time, and in one year it carried off more than three thousand victims in London.

The Army and Navy.—Other professions were as backward as medicine. The officers of the army were badly trained. Already was the jest heard that Britain had "an army of lions led by asses"; but the common soldiers, who were the "lions," were often the jail-birds, tramps, and loafers of the land, and the alarm of a Highland invasion in 1745 threw them and the rest of England into a panic. Even with this material, able officers could do much, but Wolfe and Clive are the only names famous in British military history between Marlborough and Wellington. Most of the officers in the navy were so rough as to be unfit for the society of the drawing-room, and their men, some of whom had been impressed and forced to serve, were brutalized by hard treatment and bad fare. They slept in dark and unaired quarters, and the rate of mortality was fearful. There is little wonder that many deserted when a chance offered. Yet it was this badly managed army and navy that won the greatest part of the present British Empire. During the Seven Years' War an era of improvement began, but a dangerous mutiny in the Navy in 1797 showed that conditions were still trying.

The Arts.—Little that is original or creative is to be found in English architecture since the Tudor age. When London was burnt in 1666, Sir Christopher Wren, as the leading architect, had a great opportunity. He replaced the old St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been Gothic, by the present structure in the Renaissance style (p. 246) and with a great dome. Many of the London churches were also planned by him. Classic pillars and columns prevail in these and in most of the other great buildings of the eighteenth century. In painting, England only slowly developed a national school. Vandyke, Lely,

and Kneller, who, from the days of Charles I onwards, succeeded each other as portrait painters, were all of foreign birth; only in the eighteenth century did England herself, for the first time, produce artists who are truly great. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who died in 1792, ranks high among the world's great portrait painters; his rival, Thomas Gainsborough (*d.* 1788) painted excellent landscapes as well as portraits. It is to the almost brutal fidelity of the paintings and engravings of William Hogarth (*d.* 1764) that we owe our most vivid pictures of the coarseness of this century.

In the eighteenth century in England were working new and strong forces. There were gross abuses, because privileged classes still had political power and were selfish and cruel in grasping all that they could. But a sound public opinion was growing, and no age has seen more remarkable spiritual and intellectual awakenings. In France similar movements led to the outbreak of a terrible revolution in 1789 which involved Europe in war for a quarter of a century. Into the vortex of this war Britain was drawn almost from the first; as a result, the nation then spent its energies in armed strife, and natural growth was checked. Only after 1830, when reaction had run its course, did many ideals, already proclaimed in the eighteenth century, become realities.

TOPICS

I. The importance to commerce and social life of roads and canals. Why the three-field system caused bad farming. Did better methods of farming aid the small farmer?

II. The causes of the increase of manufactures at the end of the century. The drawbacks of the factory system.

III. The effects of severity against theft.

IV. The causes of the lawlessness and drunkenness of the time.

V. The principal achievements of the age in respect to prose writing. Contrast Pope and Cowper as poets.

VI. What made the work of John Wesley necessary? Compare Scotland and England in respect to education.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1. THE RULE OF THE YOUNGER PITT

The American Revolution profoundly affected Europe. France had helped to create the new republic in America, and the principle, asserted by the colonies, that no people should be taxed without their own consent, had been applauded in France. Benjamin Franklin, sent from the United States in order to enlist the help of the French nation, found himself a social lion in Paris. Everywhere the aims of the American Revolution were discussed and approved. That a monarchy, despotic in spirit, should tingle with sympathy for a young republic was an omen of change in France itself which meant much for Britain. From the struggle of the American Revolution she was to pass rapidly into that of the French Revolution.



WILLIAM PITT (1759-1806)

The rejection of Fox's India Bill,

1783.—The British ministers who had had any share in the nation's humiliation in America could not retain power. Shelburne had made the disastrous peace (p. 407), and he was driven from office in 1783. The king found it was no easy task to secure a successor, and, for a time, had to depend upon a singular combination. Lord North was a Tory; Charles James Fox was the most brilliant Whig in his party, a man much loved by his friends, but dissolute in private life, and sometimes of headlong rashness in his public

utterances. North and Fox had denounced each other in unsparing terms, yet now, to the dismay of sober-minded people, they united to form a coalition ministry. This sacrifice of principle shocked the country, and the early fall of the ministry was certain. It came upon a question relating to India. Fox brought in an India Bill, shaped by his friend Edmund Burke, which gave to Parliament some control of India, ruled hitherto by the East India Company. The bill made George III furious. If the East India Company was to be controlled, he wished that the king, and not Parliament, should have the control. When the bill passed the Commons, he sent notice to each of the peers that he should regard as his enemy any one voting for the measure. The result was that the House of Lords rejected it. George then dismissed the coalition ministry, and William Pitt, younger son of the great Chatham, a youth twenty-four years old, became prime minister.



CHARLES JAMES FOX
(1749-1806)

William Pitt, Prime Minister, 1783.—Thus began the long rule of the man who was to conduct a protracted war with France. At first the House of Commons refused to take him seriously. Fox, Burke, and North assailed him without mercy, and when he retorted hotly they called him the "angry boy." Though so young he had great caution and insight, and, when he brought on an election in 1784, he came back with the greatest majority that any prime minister had ever secured. Nor was it gained by corruption. In a lax age, Pitt was pure and austere, and the country believed, with justice, that he was an unselfish patriot. He remained poor all his days. Soon after he took office a sinecure of £3,000 a year, for life, fell within his gift. His father had held it, and every one supposed that he would take it himself, but he gave it to some one else. Friends once offered him a gift of £100,000;

the king made a similar offer of £30,000; but he rejected both. Yet bailiffs sometimes seized his house for debt, and he died a bankrupt. This complete disinterestedness impressed the people, accustomed to the jobbery of the Whig families. Critics complained that the younger Pitt was cold and formal in manner. In fervour and imagination he was inferior to his father, Chatham, but he had an amazing dexterity with words which won many a triumph in Parliament. His ways were despotic; his colleagues stood in awe of and obeyed him; and even George III found that, with Pitt in office, it was the minister, and not the king, who ruled. Pitt showed his disdain of the old aristocracy by almost swamping it with new peers; no less than one hundred creations or promotions were due to him, and he frankly said that every one with £10,000 a year ought to be in the House of Lords. Pitt reformed many political abuses. He abolished many useless but highly-paid offices. He vastly improved and simplified the daily business of government. Under him at last disappeared corruption, as practised by Walpole and by George III. But the tragedy of Pitt's career is that his plans for improvement were checked by the tumult of the French Revolution. His one enduring achievement is that he kept Britain safe during that fiery ordeal.

Defects in the Government of India.—Fox's India Bill had been thrown out, and the first great problem for Pitt to solve was that of governing India. Clive had won Bengal, not for Britain but for the East India Company (p. 389), and through his success the officials of a trading company had come to rule an empire. Even the youngest clerk in the Company's service was a privileged person, exempt from taxation and free to carry on trade on his own account. Without doubt many fortunes were made at this time by improper means. To end such misdoings and the better to regulate India, the British Parliament had passed, in 1773, an Act under which the Company's governor of Bengal was to be governor-general with some authority over all the British posts in India. But he was not to be

despotic. He was to sit in a council composed of himself and four other members, and was to act on the advice of this body. In accordance with the terms of the Act, Warren Hastings, the able governor of Bengal, had become governor-general in 1773.

The charges against Warren Hastings.—The council had not worked well. From the first, a majority opposed Hastings, and one member at least, Sir Philip Francis, charged him with flagrant wrongdoing. Hastings had many difficulties. He could not keep wholly free from a share in native wars, and a crisis came in 1780. A powerful Mussulman leader, Hyder Ali, formed a league against the British, and the French, now allied with the revolted colonies of Britain, aided the threatening forces. Hastings promptly occupied the French posts, and proved strong enough to drive back Hyder Ali from the very gates of Madras. India was saved; but the cost of continuing the war on Hyder



WARREN HASTINGS
(1732-1818)

Ali proved heavy, and Hastings was soon hard pressed for money. Undoubtedly he raised in a high-handed manner the revenues necessary for the struggle; but withal he was an able and patriotic statesman, who made Britain's rule in India finally secure at the very time she lost America. Yet stories reached England of the tyranny of Hastings, of his executing Nuncomar, a Bengalee, who had made charges against him, of his imprisoning two Indian ladies of high rank, the Begums of Oude, and seizing their treasure, and of much else that was lawless and unjust.

In consequence, many believed that the English were ruling India as oriental despots. To make this kind of tyranny no longer possible, the Whigs had sought to give the British

Parliament some real control of the country. As Fox's India Bill had been thrown out by the king's influence, Pitt found that he must pass an India Bill of his own. His bill provided for a double control of India. The East India Company was to appoint all the officials, except the governor-general and one or two other great officers. But the home government was given control over political affairs, and might act on its own account without reference to the company. The system lasted until it was shown to be inadequate at the time of the terrible mutiny in 1857. In his bill Pitt established the principle, so detested by the king, that Parliament should have authority in India. The Whigs, however, were angry that the more thorough-going bill of Fox had been rejected. Francis was now in England with dark tales of the misdoings of Hastings in India, and this



EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797)

alleged tyranny inflamed the mind of Edmund Burke, the most eloquent and fervid of the Whig leaders. It was decided to bring charges against Hastings in Parliament. Accordingly, soon after he returned to England, he was impeached by an overwhelming vote of the House of Commons, even Pitt supporting the attack. The trial before the House of Lords began in 1788 and lasted for seven years. Hastings was acquitted. But the long trial had a good effect; above all,

it made clear that those who went out to rule India would be sternly judged at home for their conduct. India was to have the best that British justice could give.

2. THE OUTBREAK OF REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Revolution in France, 1789.—Just at this time it became

clear that the mind of George III was unbalanced, and in 1788 his son George was appointed to act as regent whenever the king could not attend to public affairs. Soon after this Europe was convulsed by the French Revolution. France was the greatest monarchy in Europe. She had a population three times as great as England, and had just emerged victorious from the war in which Britain lost her American colonies (p. 407). None the less had this war caused distress to France. It had cost great sums of money, and, in 1788, M. Necker, the minister in charge of the finances, told the king, Louis XVI, that some means of raising larger revenues must be devised. It was not easy to find a fair system. Nobles and clergy still claimed that they must remain, as of old, exempt from some of the taxes paid by the common people; while the masses wished that all classes should be taxed alike, and that the States-General should be summoned to consider the affairs of the nation. This body consisted of three separate chambers, one for each of the three estates or orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the common people or third estate. It came together at Versailles in 1789 to reconstruct France. At once the third estate took control, and, within a few weeks, it transformed the States-General into a National Assembly, consisting of a single chamber. Rapid steps were taken to draw up a new constitution for France, under which the people, not the king, should possess real power. Passions rose to fever heat. In September, 1792, Paris gave itself over to an orgy of blood, during which hundreds of persons were butchered by a revolutionary mob. A few weeks later France became a republic. Louis XVI was soon brought to trial for treason to the state, and in January, 1793, he was executed.

War with France, 1793.—These events led France into war with other states. Marie Antoinette, the queen of France, was an Austrian princess, and war broke out in 1792, when Austria, allied with Prussia, threatened France. On the question whether Britain could keep clear of war with France, British parties were soon sharply divided. Fox, a generous and impulsive man, declared that the

revolution in France was the most glorious event in the history of mankind. His friend Burke, however, attacked the revolution, and made himself the spokesman of the wrongs of those who suffered from it so terribly. Pitt at first took the view that the revolution was merely a domestic affair in France, and that Britain had no right to object to the form of government which the French might decide to adopt. In 1786 he had made a treaty with France which encouraged trade between the two countries. Anxious to reform British finance, and requiring peace for this purpose, he surveyed the turmoil calmly, not expecting to be drawn into it. But when, in 1792, the French republic declared itself ready to war on all monarchies, Pitt was aroused. Later it interfered in Holland and refused to recognize the right of that country to shut out French trade from the river Scheldt, a right that Britain guaranteed. A final breach soon came. When, in 1793, Louis XVI was executed, Pitt recalled the British ambassador, who had been accredited to that king, and in February war broke out.

The effect of the war on Pitt's policy.—From the vortex of this war Pitt never emerged, and it changed the whole character of his policy. He had no love of war, but many Whigs, led by Burke, now agreed with the Tories that war was necessary; they gave Pitt's policy their support, and he came to be considered a warlike minister. In time Pitt was filled with such horror of revolution that, to check sympathy with France, he applied coercion with great severity. During many years, from 1794 onwards, he kept the Habeas Corpus Act (p.332) suspended, and threw men into prison for unguarded words. One Hudson, for toasting the French revolution, was fined £200 and sent to prison for two years. The war cost great sums. In 1797 the Bank of England was obliged to stop cash payments, and both liberty and financial credit were, Fox said, on the verge of ruin in England.

3. THE FIRST STAGES OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE

Protection of Britain by the fleet.—The French people

are naturally warlike, and they were now, as they believed, the champions of liberty. Against Europe in arms, they soon made an amazing record of victory. They mastered in turn Belgium, Holland, Italy, and parts of Germany. But from the first they found Britain their most dangerous enemy. Separated by a strip of sea from the continent, she could be reached only by means of a superior naval force. But, as soon as the war was well begun, she showed a strength and daring in naval warfare that baffled her foes. In 1794, Lord Howe, now nearly seventy, met a French fleet in the Channel and completely shattered it. Yet France was still formidable on the sea. By her control of Holland, and by an alliance made in 1796 with Spain, she was enabled to direct against Britain the navies of three states. British fleets guarded the Channel and the Mediterranean and blockaded hostile ports. While the enemy lay securely at anchor in their harbours, British ships were at sea for months, ever on the look-out, and facing all kinds of weather. It was hard and wearing work, but it had its reward in giving officers and men a training in the handling of their ships that made them the most efficient seamen afloat.

Battle of Cape St. Vincent, 1797.—In 1797, France was preparing a crushing naval attack by uniting the three fleets for the invasion of Britain. It failed because Admiral Sir John Jervis attacked the Spanish fleet before it could unite with the French. Among his officers was a brilliant commodore, Horatio Nelson, whose daring aided largely in winning a complete victory off Cape St. Vincent. For this victory Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent. Nelson's own day was to come later.

Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore, 1797.—The outbreak of mutiny not long after the victory of Jervis threatened the very existence of Britain's power on the sea. The sailors who manned her ships led, in any case, a rough life, but they were made to suffer needless hardships. Some of them had been seized and forced to serve by what were known as press gangs, sent out to carry off men for the fleet

wherever they could find them. The food provided on the ships was often unpalatable. The pay, a miserable pittance, remained what it had been in the time of Charles II. With it the sailors could hardly provide for their own wants, and their families were left to starve. The sick were badly cared for, and when a man was wounded and thus unfitted for duty, his pay was stopped. Flogging and other brutal punishments were inflicted for slight offences; one witness saw a seaman receive three dozen lashes for "silent contempt;" that is, for venturing to smile after he had had a flogging. It is little wonder that mutiny broke out at Spithead in the spring of 1797. But reforms were quickly promised, and the men returned to duty. At the Nore, however, the situation was more serious. The men took possession of the ships of the fleet, partially blockaded the Thames, and cut off supplies of coal from London. For a time there was danger that the fleet might be taken to a French port by the mutineers and used against Britain: in the West Indies the men of a British man-of-war had murdered their ten officers and handed over the ship to the Spaniards. Most of the mutineers, however, returned in the end to their duty. Some of the ringleaders at the Nore were hanged, a hard fate indeed, for they voiced real grievances. But, from this time, the lot of the sailor was improved.

Battle of Camperdown, 1797.—While the mutiny was going on, Admiral Duncan had been blockading a powerful Dutch fleet in the Texel in Holland. When most of his ships deserted him to join the mutiny at the Nore, he kept on actively signaling from one ship to make the Dutch believe that the rest of the fleet was near. In time his ships rejoined him. Then, in October, 1797, when the Dutch fleet sailed out with an army to invade Ireland, Duncan attacked and defeated it off Camperdown, thus, in spite of dangerous mutiny, adding a second great victory to the record of the British navy for the year.

Battle of the Nile, 1798.—If, in these days, Britain was winning victories on the sea, France was winning them on land. She had now a leader of supreme military genius,

Napoleon Bonaparte, who was soon to become her ruler. Since the triumphs of the British fleet prevented France from striking Britain directly, Bonaparte planned an indirect blow at her empire. In India some of the native princes were jealous of the growing power of the British. A skilful leader might do what Dupleix had tried to do (p. 386); he might organize native forces against the British. This Bonaparte decided to attempt. He therefore resolved to occupy Egypt, and thus to secure a basis from which he could attack Britain in the East. In May, 1798, he set out from Toulon with a great fleet of about four hundred sail, mostly transports, containing a force of nearly fifty thousand men. Though Nelson was guarding the Mediterranean, the French fleet eluded him and reached Egypt. The army landed in safety, and was soon in possession of the country. But the French fleet could not escape Nelson. It lay at anchor near the shore in Aboukir Bay, one of the mouths of the Nile, when, after a long chase, Nelson came up on August 1st, 1798. Though it was evening he attacked at once, in order to take the enemy unprepared. The usual practice was for hostile fleets to engage each other in parallel lines. Nelson, however, sent some of his ships through the middle of the enemy's line. They then poured in their fire on the French from the shoreward side while other ships attacked from the seaward side at the same time. The fire of the British was terrific and their victory was complete. The French fleet was almost wholly destroyed, and a great French army was left, cut off completely from communication with France,—a vivid demonstration of the importance of sea power.

4. THE UNION WITH IRELAND

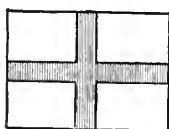
Votes granted to Roman Catholics in Ireland, 1793.—While preparing to strike at Britain in the East, the French had aimed to land an army in Ireland, where they knew that many would welcome them. The founding of a French republic had inspired some Irish patriots with the hope of

founding an Irish republic and getting rid of the tie with England. Of this Irish republican party the chief leader was Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young lawyer of great ability. He was a Protestant, but he hoped to unite Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants into one party, in order to free both from the dominance of the state church. In 1791 he founded the Society of United Irishmen. It was soon clear that concessions must be made to them; and, in 1793, at Pitt's insistence, the Irish Parliament yielded to Roman Catholics the right to vote, on the terms granted to Protestants, and removed most of their disabilities. One great disability remained; no Roman Catholic might sit in Parliament, and persons of that faith were thus shut out from any share in the government.

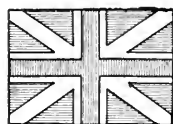
The Orangemen and the Irish Rebellion, 1798.—Even a measure of relief so limited alarmed the extreme Protestant party, and, in 1795, the society known as the Orangemen was founded in order to check concessions to Roman Catholics. Many of the leading gentlemen of Ireland joined the Orangemen, and soon there was bitter strife between them and the United Irishmen. In 1796, Wolfe Tone, in danger of being arrested and executed for treason, took refuge in France, where he urged the invasion of Ireland. He succeeded so well that in December, 1796, a great fleet, with twenty thousand men under General Hoche, sailed from Brest for Ireland. It was, however, dispersed by storms and did nothing. British victories on the sea in 1797 defeated further plans for invasion, and since, in the next year, it was Egypt, not Ireland, that the French were planning to invade, Wolfe Tone could get little help. At last, in 1798, the United Irishmen broke out in insurrection, and were aided by a small French army which succeeded in landing. Religious hostility embittered the war, and each side committed brutal atrocities against the other. The rebel movement, however, failed completely. Regular troops took by storm the camp of the rebels at Vinegar Hill, and the French army was forced to surrender. Wolfe Tone, captured while serving with the French army, was tried and sentenced to

be hanged, but escaped this fate by suicide. The plan to form an Irish republic had failed dismally.

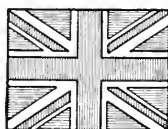
The Irish Union, 1801.—The Irish problem still remained unsolved. Pitt, having studied the union with Scotland and the unexampled prosperity of that country since union had come about, persuaded himself that union with Ireland would also produce good results. He did not fail to see that, while the Scots were chiefly Protestant, the Irish were chiefly Roman Catholic, and accordingly he planned that full political rights should be given to Roman Catholics, and that their payment of tithes to support an Anglican Church in Ireland should cease. It was necessary to gain a majority in the Irish Parliament. Pitt sent over Lord Cornwallis, the general who had surrendered at Yorktown (p. 406), as lord-lieutenant, and Lord Castlereagh, as secretary, to bring about the union.



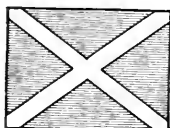
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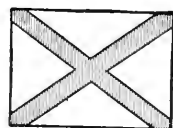
3. Great Britain



5. Great Britain
and Ireland



2. Scotland



4. Ireland

THE UNION FLAG

But Irish national feeling, especially among the Protestants, was against union, and at first the Irish Parliament rejected the plan. Then Pitt prepared to buy a majority. In Ireland, as in England, many "pocket-boroughs" existed, in which a single person had the right to name the two members for a borough. In eighty boroughs Pitt bought, at £15,000 apiece, this right of nominating the members, and added the price to the national debt. In some cases he bought votes for the

union by the promise of peerages. He also obtained support by menacing with dismissal the one hundred and seventy members of the Irish Parliament who held office at the discretion of his government. When such influences were used, it is not strange that, in 1800, the Irish Parliament voted for the union, which took effect on January 1st, 1801. One hundred members from Ireland were to sit in the British House of Commons; and four Irish bishops, and twenty-eight Irish peers, chosen for life by their fellow-peers, were to sit in the House of Lords. The Irish people were never asked to vote on the question of union. The measure was carried by a Parliament, the members of which were bought for the purpose. There was not even a new election of the Irish members who went to the British Parliament; those who were sent to London had been members of the former Irish House of Commons.

Retirement of Pitt, 1801.—The Irish union brought in its wake the retirement of Pitt. His agents had promised relief to the Roman Catholics and he now proposed a measure to secure it. But the plan aroused George III. The king believed that the terms of his coronation oath made him the special champion of the Protestant faith, and would not hear of concessions that might endanger its supremacy. Using his favourite phrase, he said that he should regard as his personal enemy any one proposing such concessions. Pitt was bound in honour to stand by what had been promised in his name, and in 1801 he resigned. Soon George III was seized with an attack that once more unbalanced his mind, and, when restored, he declared that it was anxiety on this question which had brought on the illness. When Pitt learned this he wrote promising that never again would he disturb George's mind on these points. Unhappily he kept a promise that should never have been made. From the first, union with Ireland was unblessed in this sense, that the pledges to the Roman Catholics were broken. They could not sit in Parliament; they still had to pay tithes to keep up a state church which they hated. In time both causes of injustice were removed, but not

before the iron of bitterness had entered into the soul of a people who felt that they had been duped.

5. THE STRUGGLE WITH NAPOLEON

Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, 1800; Emperor, 1804.—The lion, Pitt, was followed by a lamb. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, took office at the express wish of George III, who spoke of him as "my own" minister. He was kindly and high-minded, but commonplace. The brilliant Fox jeered at him; when warned that attacks on Addington might bring back Pitt, Fox answered, "I can't bear fools, anything but fools." Yet Addington remained prime minister for three years. They were momentous years in Europe. In 1797, France had been losing ground. She was governed by a corrupt group of men, the Directory, who were thinking of their own interests and not of their country's. The nation longed for some strong leader. Its ablest soldier, Bonaparte, was in Egypt with a large army, but nothing certain had been heard of him for a long time, except that his fleet had been destroyed by Nelson (p.441). Then in October, 1799, all France became intensely excited, for Bonaparte had returned. Learning, by chance, from an English newspaper, how serious was the situation in France, he had set out from Egypt with a single ship, and, after risking capture by the English men-of-war patrolling the Mediterranean, had succeeded in reaching France. At once he was seen to be the man of the hour. Within a few weeks he had brushed aside the Directory, made himself "First Consul," and taken complete control of the government. Four years later, he changed the title of First Consul to that of Emperor, and thus founded an imperial dynasty. France, long leaderless and in



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
(1769-1821)

the throes of revolution, had at last found a man to guide her, and she trusted him. He was a brilliant soldier, but he was more than this. He had a genius for social reform, and France soon felt his touch in every department of her life. Finance, education, the position of the church, the laws, all these, and much more, he readjusted with daring insight.

The Peace of Amiens, 1802.—For such an enemy Addington was certainly no match. At this time, too, Britain was menaced not only by France but also by Northern Europe. She had irritated Russia, Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark, by searching their ships for goods that might belong to her enemy, and to stop this practice they revived the Armed Neutrality of the North (p. 407). The one strong fleet which they could rely upon was that of Denmark, but, in 1801, Nelson attacked and destroyed this fleet at Copenhagen, the fourth naval victory for the British since Jervis had defeated the Spanish off Cape St. Vincent. Peace was now desired by both sides. Austria made terms with France at Lunéville in 1801, and at last, in 1802, Britain and France signed the Treaty of Amiens. By this treaty Britain agreed to restore everything that she had won, except Ceylon in the far East taken from the Dutch, and Trinidad in the West Indies taken from Spain. But the peace was hollow. In the soul of Napoleon was already working that ambition to master Europe which was destined to prove his ruin. The British had a deep-seated belief that he was getting ready to strike anew; and they were also reluctant to lose Malta and other places which had been gained during the war. Thus it happened that war began again in 1803. Soon it was clear that a stronger hand than Addington's was needed at the helm, and, in 1804, Pitt became prime minister for the brief span of life that remained to him.

The Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.—Bonaparte, now the Emperor Napoleon, was preparing to strike a deadly blow at Britain. He made at Boulogne a great camp of one hundred and thirty thousand men whom he intended to carry across the Channel. They were to be embarked in small

boats, protected by a French fleet, and would be able, he hoped, to cross the Channel within twenty-four hours. Of course there was the British fleet to reckon with. This fleet had reached a high degree of efficiency by keeping at sea to blockade the French ports and hold the ships of the enemy inactive there. Napoleon now thought that a union of the French and Spanish fleets might enable him to effect his purpose. There was danger to Britain in this union, and Nelson was accordingly sent to blockade Toulon, where the French fleet lay. For two long years he held to this dreary task, buffeted by storms as he lay out in the open sea. In the end, too, it seemed as if he had failed; for, in the summer of 1805, the French fleet slipped out, joined some Spanish ships lying at Cadiz, and sailed away with them across the Atlantic. The plan was for the combined fleet to go to the West Indies, and then to double back to Europe, and, before Nelson could come up with it, to protect the French army when crossing to England. Though delayed at first by false intelligence, Nelson set out in hot pursuit. The enemy could not shake him off, and at last on October 21st, 1805, he attacked the combined fleets off Cape Trafalgar, on the south-west coast of Spain, not far from Gibraltar. This was the crowning struggle for control of the sea. The French and Spanish sailors, long idle in their blockaded ports, were no match for the hardy British, who found, moreover, a brilliant leader in Nelson. He had fewer ships, but the British won a great victory, a victory linked, however, with the supreme cost of the life of Nelson. The last fleet that could meet the British was now destroyed; Trafalgar left Britain the mistress of the seas.



HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON
(1758-1805)

Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, 1805.—Before Trafalgar was fought, Napoleon had seen that the plan to invade

England was doomed, and had turned on other enemies. In 1804 he had kidnapped a Bourbon prince, the Duc d'Enghien, living across the French frontier in Germany, and had shot this innocent man, merely because he was the kinsman of other Bourbons engaged in hostile plots. Napoleon's own mother condemned the brutal deed in strong terms. It incensed the Czar of Russia, Alexander I, against him, and enabled Pitt to make an alliance with both Russia and Austria. To meet this danger Napoleon hurried the army, gathered at Boulogne, across France and invaded Austria in the autumn of 1805. His success was complete. He occupied Vienna, and, on December 2nd, met the Austrian and Russian emperors at Austerlitz, and won an overwhelming victory. The Russians fell back toward their own country, but Austria made the Peace of Pressburg, which gave Napoleon a free hand in Germany, and left him the real master of continental Europe.

Death of Pitt, 1806.—Austerlitz killed Pitt. He was ailing and had gone to Bath for a change. There the shock of the fatal news prostrated him. He travelled wearily to London, disheartened by his failure to check Napoleon in spite of the victory of Trafalgar. As he entered his villa at Putney his eye fell upon a map of Europe. "Roll up that map," he said, "it will not be wanted these ten years." On January 23rd, 1806, he died, with a lament for his country upon his lips. To many it seemed as if Pitt's whole career had been a deplorable failure. No doubt under him domestic reform stood still, and, on this ground, Fox refused to support a motion in Parliament declaring the dead leader an "excellent statesman." Yet the purity of Pitt's conduct, the higher tone which he gave to English public life, his strength and courage in an era of unparalleled danger, all mark him as a really great force in the history of his country.

The Treaty of Tilsit, 1807.—Fox had often attacked the policy of George III, and the king had declared that never again would he accept him as minister. But now, he bowed to the inevitable. Lord Grenville gathered together a group of able men, and in this "Ministry of All the

Talents" Fox took charge of foreign affairs. He had long protested against the war, but soon, like Pitt, he saw that it must go on. Napoleon seemed to be on the point of mastering all Europe. Prussia had held aloof, hoping that, if she kept the peace, he would carry out a promise to let her take Hanover. But, in 1806, Prussia saw that she had been his dupe. War broke out by the autumn, and then Prussia fell, as Austria had fallen in the previous year. In October, Napoleon inflicted on her the overwhelming defeat of Jena. The whole system built up by Frederick the Great came tumbling down. Napoleon occupied Berlin, and then advanced to meet the Russians, who still kept the field. After severe fighting, he and the Czar Alexander agreed, in 1807, to discuss terms of peace. So little did one leader trust the other that they met near Tilsit on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen, in sight of the two armies, but in a position where neither ruler could seize the other. There they agreed on the Peace of Tilsit. Alexander was to be allowed to occupy Finland, then a part of Sweden, and to do what he liked against Turkey. In return he agreed to support Napoleon in his aim to ruin Great Britain.

Napoleon's Continental Policy, 1807.—Napoleon had spent much thought on the best way to achieve this aim. He saw that Britain was a great commercial state, "a nation of shop-keepers," and he reasoned that if he shut her out from the markets of Europe he could bring her to her knees; her factories would be idle and her people would starve. For many years he had kept this end in view. Now the time seemed ripe, and, in 1806, when he occupied Berlin, he took steps to carry out what he called a continental policy. By the Berlin Decree of 1806, Napoleon forbade France and her allies to trade with Britain, and declared any ship engaged in such trade to be a lawful prize of war. To show how entirely in earnest he was, Napoleon now ordered that all goods of British origin should be destroyed, wherever found. Needless to say, Great Britain did not take this outburst meekly; she issued, in 1807, various Orders in council which forbade the ships of any nation to

trade with France and her allies. In the same year the British bombarded Copenhagen and carried off the Danish fleet in order that it might not fall into the hands of Napoleon. This was certainly a high-handed proceeding, for she and Denmark were at peace; but Britain was fighting for her life, and it was no time for scruples. On neutral trade both Britain and France placed severe restrictions. As nearly all the nations of Europe were now in one or the other armed camp, the only neutral country greatly affected was the United States; France forbade that young nation to trade with Britain, while Britain forbade it to trade with France, and the result was immense loss to American commerce.

Napoleon enforced his orders with great severity. A year or two of rigour would, he thought, ruin Britain. He made great bonfires of valuable British goods which he was able to seize in continental ports. No doubt Britain did suffer terribly. A great part of her trade with Europe ceased, and she was forced to seek new and less profitable markets in South America, from which Spain could no longer exclude her. But, if Britain suffered, France and her allies suffered more. The price of goods brought in by sea soared high, and home-keeping Italians and Germans found their coffee and sugar costly, because they were in enforced partnership with Napoleon to ruin Britain. The traders who brought in such commodities reaped great profits. Officials were obliged to permit the landing of British manufactures in Europe. Napoleon needed uniforms for his armies, and, since British mills did much of the weaving for the world, he was compelled to see his own soldiers wearing British cloth.

The death of Fox, 1806.—Little need be said of the successive English ministries that carried on the struggle with Napoleon. Pitt's great rival, Fox, died in office in 1806. When Grenville proposed, a little later, that Roman Catholic officers should be allowed to serve in the army and navy, George III dismissed him angrily, and an appeal to the country brought into Parliament a strong Tory

majority. No great leaders arose to rank with Pitt or even with Fox, who, in spite of his glaring faults, was a masterly debater. Spencer Perceval became prime minister in 1809, but he was assassinated in 1812 by a madman. After him the Earl of Liverpool took office and remained prime minister for fifteen years. A change of ministry, however, did not involve a change of policy. War was inevitable while Napoleon ruled.

Napoleon makes his brother king of Spain, 1807.—In 1807, when Napoleon thought himself on the eve of final triumph, forces were gathering which led in time to his fall. To complete his control of the coast-line he needed the sea-ports of Portugal, but this old ally of Britain refused to join him. Accordingly, in 1807, he united with Spain to send an army to coerce Portugal, and soon occupied that country. Then he did a foolish thing. He had come to despise the Spaniards and the Bourbon house which ruled Spain. In 1808, he menaced Spain with the army of one hundred thousand men which he had sent against Portugal, and obliged the king, Charles IV, and his heir Ferdinand, to renounce their rights. He made his own brother, Joseph, king of Spain. The Spanish people had no great reason to love their Bourbon rulers, but this high-handed action stirred the anger of the proudest nation in Europe. Spain lacked self-discipline and power to wage organized war; her upper classes were corrupt,—she was “rotten at the top”; but her peasantry had courage, and they now carried on guerilla warfare against the French with relentless savagery. The Portuguese joined in the same kind of warfare. Such forces could not win battles, but they could inflict serious loss. They murdered French stragglers and butchered the wounded left on the field of battle. Their mountainous country lent itself to such methods and the French found it hard to punish their elusive foes.

The Peninsular War; Battle of Vimeiro, 1808.—The war in Spain became serious for Napoleon when Britain sent a force to the Peninsula in order to recover Portugal and make it a basis for attacking the French in Spain.

In August, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal. His difficulties seemed great, for the French held most of the country, including Lisbon. Yet, by skilful generalship, Wellesley, who had had a wide experience in India, defeated the French at Vimeiro, and, after this, they were glad to agree to the Convention of Cintra, by which they retired from Portugal. Events were to show that the British could not as yet keep the French out of Portugal. From this time, however, the British retained Lisbon, and in the darkest days of the Peninsular War this basis of operations remained secure.

Battle of Corunna, 1809.—To strike at the French in Spain was another matter. Sir John Moore, who had replaced Wellesley, led an army into Spain. Moore's Spanish



SIR JOHN MOORE (1761-1809)

allies won some victories over the French, which caused Napoleon's brother, King Joseph, to abandon Madrid hastily and to flee northwards. This reverse only served, however, to call Napoleon himself into Spain with an army of three hundred thousand men. After a brilliant campaign he recovered Madrid. When he learned that Moore, with an army of less than thirty thousand men, was not far from Madrid at Salamanca, he resolved to destroy him with a far superior force.

Moore had already found his Spanish allies of little use, and his only hope of safety lay in a rapid retreat to the coast at Corunna. Fortunately for him Napoleon himself was now recalled to France. Marshal Soult pursued Moore furiously. The British reached Corunna, but, while Moore was preparing to embark for England, Soult attacked him.

In the battle of Corunna, Moore defeated the French, but was himself killed (January, 1809). The next day his army sailed away leaving behind in Portuguese soil the body of their dead leader.

The lines of Torres Vedras, 1810.—The British had now lost most of Portugal. They still held Lisbon with nine thousand men, and they were aided by the bitter hatred of the Portuguese for the French. To Lisbon Wellesley soon returned, with new forces, and, in the summer of 1809, he began again the long and stubborn task of driving back the French. In July he gained a victory at Talavera on the Tagus, and was rewarded with the title of Lord Wellington.



THE PENINSULAR WAR

“It appears that this Wellington is a man,” Napoleon said when he heard of Talavera. But Wellington’s foe was brave, and soon Marshal Masséna turned on him and drove him back into Portugal. It was then that Wellington used the famous lines of Torres Vedras. In 1809 he had built three lines of redoubts across the peninsula between the Tagus and the sea, in order to defend Lisbon. The longest stretched a distance of twenty-nine miles. If the French passed this they would find a second line a few miles farther on, and if they carried this and took Lisbon, a third line protected the sea-coast. The British could always embark in safety and put to sea. The French, however, never passed the first line of Torres Vedras. So strong was it that Masséna was helpless, and he lost thirty thousand men before he retreated in 1811.

Wellington drives the French from Spain, 1814.—In the year 1811 Wellington was able to follow the French into Spain for a time; yet again he had to retire to Portugal.

It would be vain to try to follow the varied events of the struggle. Other English leaders did good service elsewhere in Spain, but the war turned on Wellington's strategy. Early in 1812 it seemed as if he had struck a decisive blow. Two strongholds, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos barred his path into Spain, and, with terrible loss of life, he took both by storm. He then won a great victory near Salamanca, and at last had the joy of occupying the capital, Madrid. Once again, however, his stubborn foe threatened him, and he retreated to Portugal. By this time events in northern Europe had made it impossible for Napoleon to send new forces into Spain. Accordingly, in May, 1813, Wellington began his final advance across Spain to the Pyrenees, and the enemy was no longer able to stop him. A great victory over King Joseph at Vittoria enabled Wellington to drive the French across the Pyrenees, and by the spring of 1814 he was on French soil. There is scarcely a series of campaigns in history which shows longer and more stubborn fighting on both sides. Wellington, however, effected his purpose, for he drove the French out of Spain. He was the greatest soldier who opposed the designs of Napoleon.

Napoleon sent to Elba, 1814.—Meanwhile, the power of Napoleon was waning elsewhere. When Austria attacked him again in 1809, he quickly crushed her. Prussia was under his feet. But he found in Russia a dangerous friend and, in time, a bitter enemy. The Continental Policy nearly ruined Russia. British ships had carried to market her chief product, grain, but now the British were denied access to Russian ports. As the landowners grew poor they also grew angry; it is said that they even threatened the Czar's life if he enforced Napoleon's policy. The result was that he allowed many British ships to carry grain from Russian ports. When Napoleon protested against this angrily, the Czar, in turn, showed annoyance. At last Napoleon, believing, in his blindness, that Britain was nearly ruined, and that he was certain of victory in Spain, resolved to bring Alexander to terms by force. But success had vitiated his judgment, for he now undertook the

impossible. In 1812 he led a great army into Russia, and was there overtaken by winter. When he decided to retreat, his army became a mere rabble; the Russians cut off stragglers and tens of thousands died from cold. The mighty conqueror had met with one of the greatest disasters in history. As he retired the defeated nations rose against him; Russians, Austrians, Prussians, the peoples whom he had trampled on, followed him into France, while Wellington pressed northwards from Spain. Paris fell. The Bourbon, Louis XVIII, was restored, and, in 1814, Napoleon was sent an exile to Elba, near his native island of Corsica.

War with the United States, 1812; Peace of Ghent, 1814.—The long struggle had borne heavily on the young republic of the United States. Napoleon's Continental Policy and the British Orders in council had made it almost impossible for her to trade with Europe. It was Great Britain, not France, that aroused anger in America, since Great Britain alone was strong enough on the sea to check American commerce. She stopped and searched American ships, seized the sailors of British birth found upon them, and ruined American trade with European ports. In the United States a powerful party began to clamour for war. They thought to retaliate on Britain by driving her from Canada and annexing that country. In 1812, Britain cancelled the obnoxious Orders in council, but, before learning this, the American Congress had declared war. The struggle which followed is important chiefly for its effect upon the national spirit on both sides. The Americans invaded Canada unsuccessfully, the British burned the public buildings at Washington, but met later with a terrible reverse at New Orleans; there was a good deal of fighting upon the sea; but the Treaty of Ghent, by which peace was concluded, in 1814, gave no advantage to either side. The war appeared to have been fruitless; yet on the one hand it taught Great Britain respect for the young republic, and on the other it confirmed the British possession of Canada.

The return from Elba, 1815.—After Napoleon's fall the chief European powers summoned a congress at Vienna

to settle the many questions raised by the long strife. The Congress was soon disturbed by the news that Napoleon had returned from Elba. His soldiers had found themselves neglected by the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, and were longing for their old leader; and many who held lands which had been seized during the Revolution were uneasy about claims to these lands now made by the returned royalists. All this Napoleon understood, and suddenly in March, 1815, he reappeared in France. He had hoped that, if France welcomed him, he might be left to rule undisturbed. France did welcome him, and the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, fled. But the Congress at Vienna promptly declared him "the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," and refused to make any terms.



ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON (1769-1852)

Prussia, Britain, Russia, and Austria each agreed to put one hundred and fifty thousand men into the field; but Russia and Austria were slow in carrying out this pledge, and the brunt of the fighting fell upon Prussia and Britain.

Battle of Waterloo, 1815.—

Wellington had never met Napoleon on the field of battle; now, however, they were destined to face each other. The plan agreed upon by the allies was to concentrate in Belgium with the aim of invading France. In June, 1815, Wellington was near

Brussels, and the Prussian General Blücher, a man now past seventy, was not far off. The only hope of Napoleon lay in meeting each army separately before a junction was effected. At Ligny, on June 16th, 1815, he attacked Blücher and defeated him. The Prussian leader was not badly beaten, however, and was still able to help

his ally. Wellington drew up his force with a front two miles long at Waterloo, near Brussels, on June 18th; and there he awaited attack. He had sixty-eight thousand men; Napoleon, four or five thousand more than this. One third only of Wellington's force was British, the remaining two thirds being chiefly Dutch and German. Napoleon's aim was to break Wellington's line by a front attack. The battle began at noon. Again and again the French charged, but at six in the evening they had not succeeded. Meanwhile, Blücher was advancing slowly over roads heavy from recent rain, and it was his arrival, as night fell, that decided the issue. The last French charge failed, and at nine o'clock Napoleon left the field a defeated and broken man. The French turned against him, and within a few days he was forced to abdicate. Blücher now vowed that if he captured the emperor he would shoot him, and, in the end, Napoleon took refuge on a British man-of-war, the *Bellerophon*. His last battle, Waterloo, was also the last in which British and French have drawn the sword against each other. The fallen emperor spent his few remaining years at St. Helena, the prisoner of Britain.

British gains as settled by the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15.—

Britain came out of the long contest with a new position and almost a new realm. The new position was due to the sea-power which made the greatest soldier of the age impotent to strike her, though able to occupy nearly every capital in continental Europe. The new realm came from a similar cause. She had seized many oversea dominions of Napoleon and of those who fought with him. It was from the Dutch, long his ally, that Britain made her chief gains. Of Holland's former dominions she kept Ceylon in India, a part of Guiana in America, and Cape Colony, which was the beginning of her great empire in South Africa. While Holland was thus shorn, everything taken from France was restored, except Mauritius, an island on the way from Cape Colony to India, and Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies. But Britain retained Malta (p.446). Spain was now too weak to hold her oversea dominions and most of them

soon became independent. Britain was left the one great colonial power.

TOPICS

I. Why Fox's India Bill was rejected. The chief provisions of Pitt's India Bill. Why Warren Hastings was impeached.

II. What caused and what resulted from the meeting of the States-General in France? Why Britain became involved in war with revolutionary France.

III. Why was there mutiny in the navy? Why did Bonaparte go to Egypt? Show what advances in sea-power Britain had made by the end of 1798.

IV. What caused the Irish rebellion? By what means was the union effected? Why did Pitt retire after the union?

V. Why did the Peace of Amiens not prove lasting? Why is the victory of Trafalgar so momentous? The effects for Britain of the Peace of Tilsit. What the Continental Policy aimed at, and how it affected Britain. The causes of the Peninsular War and Britain's share in it. Why Napoleon quarrelled with Russia. The causes and results of the war with the United States. What events led to the Battle of Waterloo? The territory which Britain secured by the war.

CHAPTER XIX

MODERN BRITAIN

1. THE FIRST REFORM BILL

Industrial unrest after the war.—The close of the war was followed by much distress. The growth of a vast national debt had increased taxation, and the coming of peace now threw out of employment thousands of sailors and soldiers, and of workmen engaged in the manufacture of the material of war. Of six hundred and forty-four ships in the navy, no less than five hundred and thirty were put out of commission. At the same time the increased use of machinery involved the ruin of many handicrafts, and riots broke out in protest. A half-crazy lad, William Ludd, destroyed a machine in a fit of passion, and certain of the artisan class banded themselves together as "Luddites," to break up the machines which were ruining the hand-workers. This violence was the protest of the ignorant, who felt that there was injustice somewhere. William Cobbett, the most influential newspaper writer of his time, told them that violence would do no good, and that they must find a better remedy for their grievances. The real need, he said, was to obtain votes for the working classes; a Parliament elected by the people would cure the ills of the people.

The demand for reform.—Thus, it came about that there was now heard in England an insistent demand for political reform. The House of Commons did not represent the will of the people. Some "pocket boroughs," with less than half a dozen voters, sent two members to Parliament, while great centres sent none. It is almost incredible, but it is true, that, in all Scotland, less than five thousand

had the right to vote, and in the great city of Edinburgh only thirty-three. London's great population had fewer voters than many a sparsely settled county. The notorious Wilkes had attacked these evils; the younger Pitt three times introduced bills to end them; and a little before the French Revolution the "Society of Friends of the People" was organized to bring about reform. But the owners of the "pocket boroughs" were strong enough to prevent change. When, after peace was restored in 1815, the demand for reform was revived, the government refused to consider it. Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh, men with no power to see the needs of the time, declared that, to prevent revolution, the movement must be sternly repressed, and they induced Parliament in 1817 to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act so that they might imprison the agitators.

The Six Acts, 1819.—But, in spite of this severity, the movement grew. In 1819 a great meeting in the city of Birmingham took the decisive step of electing two members to sit in the House of Commons for Birmingham, although no member was allowed to that place. The ministry threw Sir C. Wolsley, one of those elected, into prison, and, in the same year when an immense gathering at Manchester also demanded representation, the government, in a panic, ordered the arrest of the leaders. In the disturbance that followed, the soldiery killed half a dozen people and wounded many others. Revenge for these "Manchester Martyrs" became the rallying cry of reform. Sidmouth and Castlereagh met it by passing through Parliament, in 1819, the repressive measures known as "The Six Acts," which placed severe restrictions upon the press, upon outdoor meetings, and upon keeping and using arms. It began to look as if it was Britain's turn to have a revolution.

The Cato Street conspiracy, 1820.—George III died in 1820. He had become blind, and during the last ten years of his life had wholly lost his reason. His personal character had always commanded respect, but no one could feel this for his profligate and heartless successor, George IV, whose ignoble ambition it was to be known

chiefly as a leader of fashion. It is to the credit of George IV that he never denied the limitation of the king's power, against which his father had fought. He could be pleasing and gracious in manners, but he was always unpopular. When he became king, the fears of revolution seemed to be justified by the Cato Street conspiracy, a plot to kill Sidmouth, Castlereagh, and other ministers, and overturn the government. But such plots really belonged to an earlier age. The absurd scheme was discovered, and Thistlewood, its leader, and four others, suffered death.

The aim of Spain to recover her colonies.—The long Tory tenure of office was not disturbed by the accession of George IV. Yet reaction grew weaker. Lord Sidmouth retired in 1822, and, in the same year, Castlereagh, who had become Lord Londonderry, ended a troubled career by suicide. Two of the friends of extremes thus disappeared from the political field. The Catholics were crying out for political relief, the masses for a voice in the nation's councils, and both demands steadily gained support. In foreign affairs, at any rate, the Tories helped liberal movements in spite of them-



GEORGE IV (1762-1830)

selves. They aided, for instance, in preserving the new republics in America. One result of the shattering of Spain's prestige by Napoleon was that she lost her colonies. By a series of revolutions they became republics, until, at last, Cuba was the only important colony retaining the tie with the mother land. It was certain that, when she could, Spain would try to recover her colonies. The fall of Napoleon brought the Bourbon, Ferdinand VII, to the throne. His people, however, were discontented, and

a revolution in 1820 gave the Spaniards again some real freedom under a constitution which they had tried for a time in 1812. Revolution in Spain was followed quickly by similar changes in Portugal and Italy. Such movements the great states of Europe dreaded, as likely to renew the horrors of the Napoleonic days, and, under Russia's lead, the chief powers had formed, in 1815, the "Holy Alliance," to prevent changes that might prove dangerous. The Holy Alliance was used to crush the new constitution in Spain. It was France that undertook to send an army to restore the authority of Ferdinand VII; and this was effected in 1823. Ferdinand had long desired to recover his lost colonies in America. For this purpose, Russia had placed at his disposal a fleet in 1817; and now it seemed likely that he would have France's support for the same end.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823.—The prospect alarmed the United States. If France gave the suggested help, it was certain that she would demand territory in America, possibly all Mexico, as her reward, and thus bring to the United States a powerful and perhaps menacing neighbour. There even seemed danger that, in such an event, the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance might unite to destroy the great republic in America. Britain had no desire to promote this end, nor did she wish to see Spain recover her colonies and exclude British traders. It thus came about that the British Foreign



GEORGE CANNING (1770-1827)

Minister, George Canning, invited the United States to declare that, as America did not intervene in Europe, Europe in turn

should no longer intervene in America, and that no more colonies of the European powers should be established there. The declaration was made in 1823 by President Monroe of the United States, and has ever since been known as the Monroe Doctrine. Britain had inspired it, and she gave it cordial endorsement. The result was that Mexico and other republics remained unmolested by the European powers.

The liberation of Greece, 1827.—In Greece, also, Britain's influence supported liberty. The Greeks began a revolt against Turkish rule in 1821. This rising was met by the Turks with a ferocious massacre of the Greeks, until at last Britain, France, and Russia warned Turkey that it must cease. When it still went on, the allied fleets destroyed that of Turkey in the Greek harbour of Navarino, in 1827, and the Sultan was soon obliged to acknowledge the independence of Greece.

The Duke of Wellington, prime minister, 1828.—The Tory, Lord Liverpool, a man of blameless character but in no sense a great statesman, had remained prime minister for the long period since 1812; but when, owing to ill-health, he retired in 1827, it was apparent that the Tory party had become very weak. George IV called upon Canning, the foremost orator on the Tory side, to form a ministry. But now, since Canning wished to give relief to the Catholics, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other Tory leaders, would not support him, and he had to look to the Whigs for help. Perhaps Canning would have led the more liberal wing of the Tory party into new paths, as Peel did later, but he was prime minister only from April to August, 1827, when his brilliant career was cut short by death. In 1828, the Tories seemed to have found a strong prime minister in the Duke of Wellington. But the hero of the Peninsular War and the conqueror of Napoleon was abler as a warrior than as a statesman. He was honest, straightforward, and frank. His view, however, was that the upper classes alone should rule the state, and that it was the duty of the masses to obey.

The demand for Catholic relief, 1829.—The demands of the Roman Catholics for relief were now insistent.



DANIEL O'CONNELL (1775-1847)

Even George III had been forced to assent to an Act of Parliament, passed in 1817, permitting Roman Catholic officers to serve in the army and navy, a tardy measure which put their courage at the service of their country. But still no Roman Catholic was allowed to sit in Parliament, and this restriction robbed most of the people of Ireland of all real share in political life. In time the Whigs took up the cause of justice to the Roman Catholics and, through their influence, the House of Commons passed,

in 1825, a Catholic Emancipation Bill. But the Lords threw it out. The Test Act and the Corporation Act of the reign of Charles II, which placed oppressive burdens upon Protestant nonconformists, were still in force, and the Tories bitterly objected to their repeal. In 1828, however, the Whigs, led by Lord John Russell, forced the Duke of Wellington to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts.

Roman Catholic Emancipation, 1829.—The question of freedom for Roman Catholics was solved only upon the threat of civil war in Ireland. In 1828, Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, offered himself in the Irish constituency of Clare as a candidate for the House of Commons. Against the powerful interest of the Protestant landlords, but with the support of those Roman Catholics who had the legal right to vote (p. 441), O'Connell was elected by an overwhelming majority. Yet the law would not permit him to take his seat. There was

a furious agitation in Ireland, and it was soon clear that its people were ready to revolt. The Duke of Wellington had the soldier's quality of knowing when he must retire from an untenable position, and he saw that the time to yield had come. George IV opposed any measure of relief, as his father had done. The extreme Tories and Protestants still fought strenuously for the system of repression; yet it was the Tory prime minister, Wellington, who carried through the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829. A few offices were still reserved for Protestants only; the sovereign, the lord chancellor, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, might not be Roman Catholics; but otherwise Roman Catholic and Protestant were henceforth on a perfectly equal footing before the law.

William IV, 1830-1837.—George IV died in 1830, and the Whigs welcomed his brother and successor, the bluff and honest William IV, because, unlike George, he seemed friendly to the extension of the right to vote. Upon this question of making the House of Commons representative of the whole people the keenest interest now centred. The Tories declared that no change was needed. The Duke of Wellington said that nothing better than the existing system could be devised; that the upper classes, as the chief holders of property, should control the state; and that a reform bill meant an attack upon property itself, and would probably be followed by confiscation. Such extreme views disturbed even the duke's own followers. The nation was for reform. The Whigs carried the election of the summer of 1830, and Wellington was forced to retire from office.



WILLIAM IV (1765-1837)

The first Reform Bill, 1832.—Then followed a furious

struggle. Lord Grey, who became prime minister, was a moderate Whig, with no great confidence in the wisdom of the multitude, now so excited on the question of the right to vote. In March, 1831, Lord John Russell, a member of the Whig government, and a man who really desired reform, introduced the Reform Bill into the House of Commons.



CHARLES, EARL GREY
(1764-1845)

Even then it passed by a majority of only one. Lord Grey appealed to the country, and came back with a great majority. But, though the bill again passed the Commons, the Lords still rejected it. When William IV, well-meaning, but narrow and prejudiced, used his influence against the bill, Lord Grey resigned and left to the king and the Tories the task of carrying on the government as best they could. The nation was now resolute for reform. Riots broke out in many parts of England. For

days Bristol was in the hands of a mob which burned many buildings and threatened to destroy the whole city. There was thus a danger of revolution if the Lords did not yield. Moreover, the Tories found that they could not form a ministry. William IV obliged, as he was, again to call on Lord Grey to conduct the government, now promised to create, if necessary, enough new peers to force the bill through the House of Lords. This threat sufficed, and, when the Commons passed the bill again in 1832, Wellington showed again his capacity for retreat. The bill became law.

The abolition of rotten boroughs.—The Reform Bill of 1832 effected a revolution in English political life. It swept away no less than one hundred and forty-three old seats. Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, London, and other populous centres now displaced the “rotten boroughs.”

Formerly there had been but one polling-booth for each constituency; many electors had been obliged to travel a long way to vote; elections had lasted forty days, often amid riot and disorder that led to bloodshed. Now voting places were to be more numerous and the election was to be completed within two days. The bill gave political power, not to the working-man, but to the small farmer in the country and the small shopkeeper in the towns. No one who paid less than a rental of £10 a year might vote in the towns; in the country, while owners of land worth £2 a year—a class small in number—might vote, no one else could do so who paid a rental of less than £50.

The abolition of slavery, 1833.—Even the moderate reform of 1832 aroused high hopes, and the first reformed Parliament which met in 1833 effected marked social changes and improvements. Some hoary evils that had been assailed for half a century were now, at last, overthrown. The worst of them was slavery, which, though it did not exist in the British Isles, flourished in the British colonies. In 1807 Parliament had abolished the slave-trade (p. 424) but this was only a step towards the goal at which Wilberforce and other leaders aimed. They wished to abolish slavery itself in all British territory. Wilberforce had spent his life in this work but did not live to see his end attained. In 1833, however, the very year of his death, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton brought about the abolition of slavery. In this measure the British people showed the sincerity of their belief in reform. In spite of the fact that they held no slaves at home, they voted £20,000,000 to pay owners in the colonies for the loss of their slaves.

The Factory Act, 1833.—There still existed in the British Isles themselves a slavery, in fact, if not in name. Child labour in the factories had caused many evils. Lord Ashley, afterwards the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, drew a terrible picture of the cruelty of the system. In the hospitals of Lancashire he found many little children, dwarfed and crippled by working in crowded factories when they

should have been at play. Many factory owners, who profited by this child labour, were extremely hostile to the agitation for checking it. But Lord Ashley secured a Factory Act in 1833. Though it fell far short of what he desired, no child under nine years of age might henceforth be employed in factories; children under thirteen might not be employed for more than eight hours a day, nor those between thirteen and eighteen for more than twelve. This was the best that Lord Ashley could do in 1833. It was certainly not for the good of the nation that children under thirteen should be in factories and coal mines for even eight hours a day. He continued his agitation, and in 1847 a new factory bill prohibited the employment of women, and of children under eighteen, in factories for more than ten hours a day.

Reform of the Poor Laws, 1834.—The first reformed Parliament turned from the case of the children to that of the poor. Here the evil was not one of harsh treatment but one of an over-indulgence which encouraged reckless poverty. We have seen how the state had admitted the right of every man to aid from the parish, if his wages were not sufficient to support his family (p. 418). The system was soon grossly abused. Since the parish was there for workmen to fall back upon, many employers took good care to pay low wages, knowing that the parish must support their labourers. The tax levied under the Poor Law became, at length, enormous; a property that in 1801 paid £11 for poor rates, was forced by 1832 to pay £367, and at that time the annual levy for poor relief reached the immense total of £8,600,000. Yet the poor were really injured by the system. A man who refused to work could demand aid for himself and his family, and be even better off than a steady workman trying to live on the small wages of his own industry. Amid such conditions, self-respect and thrift were actually discouraged. The demand for change was insistent, and the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was sweeping in character. It allowed aid only to those really destitute, and obliged them to go to live in workhouses. The system

of doles in money, called outdoor relief, to people living in their own cottages, was abolished. The change was drastic and sudden, and caused, of course, distress to many whom the old system had rendered helpless. In the end, aid in money was allowed to aged and infirm persons. Severe though the terms of the Act were, it checked a great evil and encouraged a new self-reliance in the English villagers.

Fall of Lord Grey's ministry, 1834.—Eagerness for reform soon died out among the Whig leaders. Earl Grey was anxious to give the people justice, but he had no belief in their power to govern themselves. His cabinet was composed chiefly of peers, and he held in check the demand for further democratic measures. Ireland, which had wrecked Pitt's career for a time, was destined now to end that of Grey. O'Connell, once in Parliament, pressed two demands, one for the abolition of the tithe in Ireland (p. 502), the other for the repeal of the Union. His meetings in Ireland were attended by vast crowds. There he was spoken of as the uncrowned king, and, under him, the masses of the Irish were at last united. O'Connell's attack on tithes led many to refuse to pay this tax to support the state church, and, when the government adopted coercive measures, the tithe-collectors were sometimes murdered. O'Connell insisted that crime could be stopped by conciliation; instead Lord Grey applied more drastic coercion. In this course his more liberal ministers would not support him, and he resigned in 1834. Lord Melbourne became prime minister, only, soon after, to find himself suddenly dismissed by the king, who had come to look upon Whig rule with dread and alarm. An election, however, gave the Whigs a majority, and William IV was obliged to accept Melbourne in spite of himself. Two years later, in 1837, William IV died. As the "sailor king" he had affected the manners of a rough and hearty seaman, and this won for him a certain popularity. But his lack of dignity and bursts of passion, in an age making ever severer demands upon its leaders, had tended to weaken the prestige of the crown.

2. LITERATURE DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM

The passing of the Reform Bill marks the climax in England, for the time, of the desire for change aroused by the French Revolution. The long period of upheaval had produced a great effect in the world of letters. The eighteenth century is a century of prose, because it did not experience until its last years a supreme crisis fitted to awaken intense thought and feeling. It was the French Revolution which stirred deep emotions and caused a new outburst of poetry. The two poets, William Wordsworth (1770-1850), and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), were young men when the Revolution began. At first it aroused in them keen sympathy, but, in the end, it repelled them by its bloody excesses. *The Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, and other short poems of Coleridge are full of exquisite imagery and rhythm. The extent of his poetry is not great, for he completed only a few poems. Wordsworth worked long and steadily in his quiet country home in the Lake district. *The Prelude*, a fine poem, is the story of his own inner life, and is more successful than his longest poem, *The Excursion*. His best work is found in such short poems as *The Intimations of Immortality*, *Tintern Abbey*, and *The Ode to Duty*. In his view, nature herself feels the gladness of life, and the very flowers enjoy the air they breathe. Never before had poet interpreted the heart of nature as he did.

The three poets, Lord Byron (1788-1824), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), and John Keats (1795-1821), died young, before their genius was fully matured. Both Byron and Shelley saw with burning indignation the inequalities of society. Just when England had ended the long struggle with revolutionary France, these two poets attacked the institutions which had gained the victory, and which were regarded as sacred. As a result, they were treated in England as outcasts. When Byron went to live abroad he shocked his countrymen by his openly immoral life. His death, while he was engaged in aiding the Greeks to throw

off the Turkish yoke, showed the sincerity of his belief in liberty. *Don Juan* is a bitter satire on society. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* abounds in descriptive passages of great beauty. The fault with Byron is the narrow range of his imagination. His thought centres always in himself. Shelley, who shared Byron's revolt against society, also withdrew from England. Injustice and cruelty filled him with a passion for reforming the world. From childhood he had imagined a state of perfect beauty and happiness; *Prometheus Unbound* is a dream of a regenerated universe. *Adonais*, his lament for Keats, is fit to rank with Milton's *Lycidas*. Perhaps no English poet equals Shelley in the gifts of imagination. Keats, unlike his two friends, took little interest in social questions, but turned rather to the romantic past. His best poetry, *Hyperion*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, and some shorter poems, is pervaded by an intense love of beauty.

A great Scotsman in this period is famous both as a poet and as a writer of prose. The early fame of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) was due to his stirring verse. His spirit was not touched by the discontent of an age of revolution. He turned to the past, and the past chiefly of his native land, Scotland, for his themes. The long narrative poems, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion*, and *The Lady of the Lake*, are full of vigorous movement. Only in middle age did Scott begin to write novels, and his first story, *Waverley*, published in 1814, created a great sensation. In rapid succession he produced *Guy Mannering*, *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, *Old Mortality*, and many others. To the taste of the present day his style seems diffuse, but there is a wonderful magic in his stories. Jane Austen (1775-1817) described the society of her time with so fine a touch and so delicate a humour, that she has still many readers. We have in her pages an exact picture of English middle-class life at the time of the great struggle with Napoleon. Such titles of her books as *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Sense and Sensibility* indicate the characteristics of the society which she depicts.

3. THE ADOPTION OF FREE TRADE

The reign of Victoria, 1837-1901.—Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent, younger brother of William IV, was only eighteen when she came to the throne, and her reign was destined to be the longest and also, per-



VICTORIA (1819-1901)

haps, the most momentous in British history. She had been carefully educated for her high office, and took delight in its dignity and authority. In 1840 she married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a high-minded and able man, who was given the title of Prince Consort. While he lived he looked upon himself as the queen's permanent minister, and the policy of the crown was directed, and very wisely directed, by him. Without doubt, the fact

that the sovereign was a woman tended to weaken her political influence. Parliament steadily restricted the royal authority. It took away from the queen the control of the army; and the right of pardoning condemned criminals, hitherto belonging to the sovereign, was now vested in a minister of state. Prince Albert's share in the work of the government in itself, no doubt, tended to put the queen in the back-ground, and after his death, in 1861, her life-long sorrow led her to seek retirement. Her infrequent appearance at the opening or closing of Parliament made the public realize that the sovereign played but a small part in political life. In the end, the queen frankly accepted limitations that no previous sovereign would have acknowledged. "I am bound by certain rules and usages," she said to Napoleon III; "I have no uncontrolled power of decision; I must adopt the advice of a council of ministers."

SCALE OF MILES

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Her personal character always commanded weight and respect. She was a devout Christian, and the tone of her court was pure to the point of austerity. The bitter grief of her life quickened her sympathies, and developed in her a strength and tenderness that won deep affection.

Rebellion in Canada, 1837.—Armed rebellion in Canada marked the first months of the reign of Victoria. The country had been ceded to Britain by France in 1763, and, since then, had been ruled by governors who often paid slight heed to the wishes of the Canadian people. Yet Canada had its Parliament. The Quebec Act, passed in 1774 (p. 403), had, indeed, made government wholly despotic, but when, after the American Revolution, settlers of British origin, "Loyalists," driven from the United States because of their devotion to their king, began to settle in parts of Canada, it had been necessary to give them some voice in the control of affairs. In 1791, therefore, a new Constitutional Act divided Canada into two provinces, Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and gave to each its own legislature. Now, for the first time in their history, the French in Lower Canada had the right to vote. But neither they nor the British population of Upper Canada had, as yet, gained complete control of their own affairs. The governor sent out from Britain still acted without taking the advice of his ministers, and he was surrounded by officials of English origin. This alien rule the French Canadians, in particular, detested, and in time, under Papineau, a leader of great eloquence, many began to dream of founding a French republic on the St. Lawrence. There was discontent, too, in Upper Canada, the Reformers, as they were called, demanding that the elected legislature should control the policy of the government. The result was that, in 1837, both Upper and Lower Canada were the scene of armed rebellion.

The union of the two Canadas, 1841.—These events produced a jarring note amidst the rejoicings at the young queen's accession. The rebellions were easily crushed but

it was necessary to remove the causes of the trouble. Among the most advanced of the Liberal statesmen of the time was the Earl of Durham, a man of high character and of great wealth, but with an arrogant temper. In 1838, Lord Durham was sent to Canada to inquire into the cause of the trouble and to suggest a remedy. He remained in the country only a few months, and then suddenly returned to England, because the Whig government did not give him adequate support in his plans. But he prepared a masterly report, which is perhaps the most important document in British colonial history. He found, as he said, "two peoples warring in the bosom of a single state," the French jealous of the English and holding aloof from all intercourse with them. Both French and English desired a fuller measure of self-government. Lord Durham's solution was in line with his liberal principles. He urged that all the British provinces in North America should be united under one Parliament, which should have complete control of Canadian affairs. It was not as yet possible to unite all the provinces, but the two Canadas were united in 1841. This union by no means ended the strife of races; but it did lead to self-government, and, after a few years of uncertainty, the Canadians were left to solve their problems for themselves.

Sir Robert Peel, prime minister, 1839.—Lord Melbourne, the prime minister when Victoria came to the throne, proved to be a wise and fatherly counsellor. The queen was at this time herself a Whig, and chose all the leaders of her household from Whig families. But the Whigs were losing their hold on the country. When, in 1839, they were defeated in the House of Commons, the queen was obliged to call upon the Tory leader, Sir Robert Peel, to form a government. Then Peel pointed out that the ladies in high office at court were all of the Whig party, and he urged the importance of having those in attendance on the sovereign in sympathy with the cabinet of the day. The queen resented with impatience and temper the proposal that she should part with her attendants

and the result of her refusal to yield was that Melbourne and the Whigs stayed in office for two years more. But the queen was wrong. "It was entirely my own foolishness," she said later. After 1839, the ladies about her were chosen from both sides in politics, and since then the sovereign has not been identified with any party.

The burden of the Corn Laws.—Sir Robert Peel, whom Gladstone called "the greatest man he ever knew," was prime minister from 1841 to 1846. The son of a wealthy manufacturer, he had been trained from youth for a political life. He was on the Tory side, but he was not bound completely by party traditions. The old Toryism was, in truth, dying out. By its religious intolerance and by its resistance to any extension of the right to vote, it was seeking to keep Britain in a condition which she had outgrown. In times of crisis great minds follow principles rather than party; Canning had broken with the Tories on the question of relief to the Roman Catholics, and now close thought and study led Peel to attack the Corn Laws. During the long French war, British farmers had reaped great profits through the high price of wheat, and, at its close, in 1815, the landowners were determined to keep up the price. An Act was therefore passed prohibiting the importation of foreign wheat until the price in Britain reached eighty shillings a quarter; colonial wheat, which was unimportant in quantity, might be brought in when the price reached only sixty-seven shillings. In 1822 a sliding scale of duties was adopted. When the price of wheat was low abroad the duty was to be high, that the

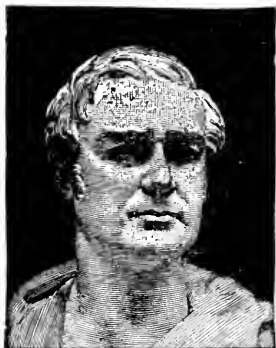


WILLIAM LAMB, VISCOUNT MELBOURNE (1779-1848)

English landowner might always be free from the competition of cheap wheat. It is obvious that the Corn Laws were in the interest of the landed classes and made wheat dear to the poor. For this injustice radical reformers bitterly attacked the duties. But both the Tory and the Whig leaders supported the Corn Laws, and Lord Melbourne declared in 1839 that free trade in corn was the wildest and maddest scheme ever imagined.

The repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846, followed by Free Trade.—

Richard Cobden, a manufacturer, became an ardent free trader, and his clear and forcible reasoning enlisted in the cause the great eloquence of John Bright. These leaders joined the Anti-Corn-Law League formed in 1838, and soon



SIR ROBERT PEEL (1788-1850)

made their influence felt. Rigid Whigs and Tories still made light of the movement, but Sir Robert Peel saw that the existing system must be changed. Already, in 1842, he had lowered the duties both on wheat and on many other commodities, and when there was famine in Ireland in 1845 (p. 500) he begged his Tory colleagues to relieve the starving multitudes by removing the duties on grain. They refused, and he resigned. Then it was found that no one else could form a ministry. When Peel resumed office, the

repeal of the Corn Laws had become certain. Supported by many Whigs under Lord John Russell, but amid the execrations of his former Tory friends, Peel carried through in June, 1846, the great measure under which, after February 1st, 1849, wheat was admitted free, with the exception of a registration duty of a shilling a quarter. Even this duty was abolished in 1869. The repeal of the Corn Laws led to complete free trade; by 1852 successive budgets had swept away every vestige of protection.

Overthrow of Peel by the Tories, 1846.—Peel fell in the

moment of his triumph. In June, 1846, on the very day when the Lords finally passed the repeal of the Corn Laws, he was defeated in the House of Commons on an Irish question, and resigned. Never again, as it proved, did he hold office. Lord John Russell now became head of a Whig ministry which lasted until 1852. He was small in stature, and so shy and awkward in manner that he was not an inspiring leader. But he was a man of high character, quick wit, and unflinching courage in advancing what he thought would make for the good of the people. In the cabinet sat Lord Palmerston,* a man of more brilliant qualities.



LORD JOHN, AFTERWARDS EARL, RUSSELL (1792-1878)

Lord John took especial interest in domestic reforms (it was he who introduced the great Reform Bill of 1832), while Palmerston devoted himself mainly to foreign affairs, and his nickname of "the Firebrand" indicates that he was not wholly a peace minister. "The Palmerstonian style," as exhibited in his blunt communications to other powers, was famous in his day. To a man of his simple and straightforward character, the clear statement

* The use of titles in Britain is often puzzling to the reader. It should be noted that a title of nobility does not involve membership in the House of Lords; Lord Palmerston, for instance, sat in the House of Commons. All peers of the United Kingdom are members of the House of Lords, and may not sit in the House of Commons. But both Scotland and Ireland have their own peerages, whose holders possess titles. When the unions were effected it was provided that the Scottish and the Irish peers should elect a certain proportion of their number to sit in the House of Lords; the peers of Ireland though not of Scotland are eligible also for the House of Commons. Other persons with titles of nobility also sit in that House. The eldest son of a peer, such as the Duke of Devonshire, takes by courtesy one of the

of his meaning in unmistakable terms, seemed the wisest policy. Diplomacy, accustomed to studied phrases, was startled by Palmerston's vigour, and through it he brought the country more than once to the verge of war. But the minister who always stood up for the national dignity never lacked popular support.

4. SOCIAL CHANGES BEFORE THE CRIMEAN WAR

The Chartist agitation.—Peel's breach with the Tories long disarranged political parties, for it was rarely certain on which side of a question the "Peelites" would vote. Parties were, indeed, breaking up. Moderate Tories preferred now to be called Conservatives, and wished to break away from the old tradition of unbending opposition to change. On the other hand, reform was being pressed too hard for the older Whigs. Since the previous century, reformers had demanded what now became the six points of the "People's Charter:" manhood suffrage, the right of every man to vote; vote by ballot, to save the voter from intimidation; Parliaments elected for a year only, so that the people might never lose control; the payment of members, so that poor men could sit in the House; the abolition of a property qualification for members; and equal electoral districts, so that each voter should have the same voting power. It is noteworthy that all of these aims have been realised, except the demand for annual

secondary titles of his father; the Marquis of Hartington, for instance, sat in the House of Commons until he succeeded his father as Duke of Devonshire. Younger sons of members of the higher nobility also have the courtesy title of "Lord," which is placed before their Christian names. Lord John Russell was the son of the Duke of Bedford, and in a case like his the title of "Lord" means little more than the title of "Mr." prefixed to other people's names; he signed his name simply "John Russell." But, in time, Lord John was himself made a peer of the United Kingdom as Earl Russell. Then he was known not as Lord John Russell, but as Lord Russell, and henceforth used the signature "Russell" without any prefix. When it is desired to give any one a title of nobility, and yet not to make him ineligible for the House of Commons, he is created an Irish peer.

elections, which no one now wishes. After the queen's accession the "Chartists" kept up an active agitation for more than ten years. The Whig aristocracy had little in common with the clamorous artisans of the Chartist movement, and the party split into two sections, the more cautious Liberals and the thorough-going Radicals. Even the old party name has disappeared; there are still Tories, but no Whigs. When Revolution broke out in France in 1848, the "Chartists" summoned a mass meeting of supporters to present a monster petition to Parliament. In alarm, the government requested the Duke of Wellington to organize the defence of London, and one hundred and seventy thousand special constables were sworn in. But the Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor, drew back, and the weakness of the movement soon became apparent. The people had come to understand that not violence, but votes, would be effective; and that reform was making progress. Chartism took in time the more sober form of Radicalism, in which it still plays a part in British political life.

The steamboat and the steam railway.—Since the fall of Napoleon momentous changes had taken place, and they had modified the everyday life of the masses of the people. The steamboat, the railway, the electric telegraph, the newspaper, and cheap postage have effected great alterations in society, and all these agencies were at work by 1848. The steamboat *Clermont*, the invention of Fulton, an American, was plying on the Hudson in 1807. Britain's course in steam navigation began in 1812, when Henry Bell launched the *Comet* on the Clyde. But it was only in 1838 that a ship crossed the Atlantic by steam-power alone, a feat that had been declared impossible, since no ship, it was said, could carry enough coal to drive her across the ocean. It was quite clear that if steam-power could make bodies move through the water, it could also make them move on land. In 1814 George Stephenson constructed an engine, nick-named "Puffing Billy," from its noise, which showed that the steam locomotive was possible, and by 1825 the Stockton and Darlington Railway was carrying

both passengers and goods. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened in 1829. After this there was a fever for building railways, and during the next twenty-five years England was covered with a network of lines. Stephenson boasted that he would make it cheaper for a workman to ride in a coach than to wear out energy and shoe leather in walking, and he kept his word; the poor as well as the rich used this new kind of carriage. Henceforth bulky articles were readily carried both by land and sea; commerce expanded; and Britain became more than ever the workshop of the world.

The influence of the telegraph upon the newspapers.—The railway carried goods, and the daily newspaper was soon distributing ideas. Until the reign of William IV, London alone had daily newspapers and they were very dear. A tax of fourpence on each sheet of a newspaper, and of three shillings and sixpence on each advertisement, raised the price of a daily paper to about £10 a year. The tax was reduced in 1836 to a penny a sheet, and eight pence on advertisements, and from that time the newspaper grew steadily cheaper. In 1855, when war was going on with Russia, and the public was eager to get news, the special tax was abolished. In time, London had a considerable number of newspapers which sold for a penny, and, at last, for a halfpenny. The newspaper, while it grew cheaper, also improved as a record of the world's doings. Formerly the news from abroad came in sailing vessels, that from home points by post or special courier; and it was a great feat when couriers covered the distance from Glasgow to London in little more than twenty-four hours. But the electric telegraph changed all this. The first line was built in England in 1844. By 1850 the invention was in general use, and the newspapers soon began to rely upon it for news. At a later time, in 1866, when a cable was at last laid from Britain to America, the chief political and commercial centres were brought into immediate touch with each other, and now daily news of the occurrences in all parts of the world has become almost a necessity.

The need of a better postal service.—The introduction of cheap postage aided the carrying of news. At the beginning of Victoria's reign the charge for postage was in proportion to the distance covered. To send a letter from one part of London to another cost a penny; to send one from London to Edinburgh cost more than a shilling. Daniel O'Connell complained that an Irish labourer in England, writing to and hearing from Ireland weekly, would spend more than one fifth of his wages on postage. Payment was usually made on delivery, and Rowland Hill has told us how his mother sometimes dreaded the arrival of a letter, lest she should not have the money to pay for it. It frequently happened that the poor, to get intelligence of each other's welfare, would agree to send only an addressed sheet of paper; this the receiver would refuse to accept from the postman, who would carry it off, but its coming would show that the sender was well. While the poor felt the heavy burden of postage, peers, members of the House of Commons, and high officials had the "franking" privilege, by which their letters were carried free of charge. Large areas of England had no postal service. Sabden, a town of twelve thousand inhabitants, where Cobden had his print-works, was without a post-office. The whole system was cumbrous and expensive. Elaborate accounts were kept with each postmaster for the unpaid letters sent to him, and the revenue was spent largely on the bookkeeping involved.

The penny post.—In 1837 Rowland Hill made a strenuous demand for penny postage. He proved that the average cost of carrying a letter was much less than a penny, and he urged that it was fair to make a uniform charge of a penny for all letters. But the official world arrayed itself against him. The authorities declared that the postal service could never deal with the immense mass of correspondence which cheap postage would invite. The business world, on the other hand, supported the proposal, and, in 1839, Lord Melbourne's government established the penny post. As Mr. Gladstone said, the improvement "ran like

wildfire through the civilized world," and it has become one of the most important factors in modern civilization.

Sir Robert Peel begins the police force.—The increase of population in London made the problem of police urgent, and in 1829 Sir Robert Peel passed through Parliament an act creating a metropolitan police force. This act founded the modern police system. What we now know as police work had hitherto been divided among a variety of officers—watchmen, thief-takers, street-keepers, etc., usually few, ill-paid, and inefficient (p. 420). Peel's aim was not so much to punish as to prevent crime. By June, 1830, the London force consisted of three thousand three hundred and fourteen persons; and a police system for the whole nation, remarkable for its efficiency, was soon evolved. But in the first stages there was great opposition. Many denounced Peel as attempting to introduce Bourbon militarism into England, and "Peel's Bloody Gang" came in for much abuse.

The reform of the criminal law.—Hand in hand with the prevention of crime went the milder punishment of criminals. Sir Samuel Romilly worked long to soften the savagery of the criminal law (p. 418). Yet when he died, in 1818, little had been done; for many feared that mildness would promote lawlessness. By 1837, however, the death penalty for forgery, coining, horse or sheep stealing, and similar offences was abolished, and soon afterwards the judges imposed the death penalty for murder only. The transportation of criminals was abandoned in 1853, but the gruesome public executions remained until 1868. Howard's agitation regarding prisons also bore fruit. In Millbank Penitentiary, opened in 1816, each prisoner was for the first time provided with a separate cell; but not until 1835 was Pentonville, the second "model" penitentiary, begun. Progress was slow, but the change has in time proved radical. The old type of prison has disappeared; the law now requires that every male prisoner shall have a separate cell, much attention is paid to moral improvement, labour is compulsory, and by good conduct the prisoner can

earn a remission of about one quarter of his sentence. The system has justified itself; when Victoria began to reign, England had about fifty thousand convicts; when she died there were less than six thousand.

The great exhibition, 1851.—It is clear that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the improvements in social conditions were already numerous. Free trade was extending Britain's markets, and the nation was extremely prosperous. For forty years after the fall of Napoleon, no important war occurred in Europe. In 1851 there was held in London the first of the great exhibitions, since then so frequent. This festival, at which all nations exhibited their products, was thought by many to indicate the coming, at last, of an era of good-will, in which the nations would be rivals only in peaceful industry, and would no longer appeal to the sword. In reality, Europe was on the verge of a long series of wars.

5. THE CRIMEAN WAR

Lord Aberdeen's ministry.—After Peel's fall, in 1846, Lord John Russell remained prime minister until 1852. His foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, was a brusque minister, and kept Queen Victoria always nervous lest he should do something rash. In 1850, she rebuked him sharply for his disregard of her opinion, and, in 1851, for some new indiscretion, Lord John Russell curtly dismissed him. But Palmerston was very popular, and, within a few weeks, he had brought about the fall of the Whig ministry. It was not easy to form a new cabinet. The loss of Peel, who had been killed in 1850 by a fall from his horse, and of Wellington, who died in 1852, left the Tories without strong leaders. Consequently, after a few months of Tory rule, a ministry was formed by a coalition of Whigs and Peelites under the Earl of Aberdeen, in whose cabinet Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone, a statesman already conspicuous, had place. The ministry lacked the unity which an approaching crisis demanded; in 1854, Britain became involved in a struggle with Russia.

The causes of the Crimean War.—After the fall of Napoleon, Britain had come to find her chief rival not in France, but in Russia. That vast empire had pushed its way in the far East until it had now become a danger to British India. In Europe, moreover, it had designs upon Turkey, in order to secure direct access to the Mediterranean, and this access might threaten Britain's naval supremacy in those waters. The result was that British public opinion grew sensitive about the designs of Russia. In 1853, the Czar Nicholas made frank proposals to Britain. Turkey, he said to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, was "a very sick man." Since Turkey must fall, some wise plan should be made to take care of the fragments; if Britain and Russia acted together, said the Czar, they could work their own will. Let them expel the Turk from Europe, let Britain take control of Egypt and Crete, mismanaged by the Turk, and let the European dominions of Turkey become independent states under Russian protection. This proposition, made by a man of obstinate and masterful temper, was intended as a guarantee of peace, and the Czar allowed himself to think that Britain would agree to it.

France and Britain declare war on Russia, 1854.—The British Cabinet was divided on the question. Lord Aberdeen, the prime minister, opposed war; but he lacked vigour and authority. On the other hand, the stormy Palmerston, who saw in Russia's designs a serious danger to Britain, did all he could to make war inevitable. His views prevailed, and the Czar was at last warned that Britain would oppose the designs of Russia in regard to Turkey. Napoleon III, who had just made himself emperor of the French, sided with Britain. The Czar had not received him cordially, but had addressed him as "Friend," not with the usual "Brother" given to fellow-monarchs; and this wounded a ruler conscious of being an upstart. Moreover, Napoleon, anxious to stand well with the church, had asserted old treaty rights giving France the custody of the holy places in Palestine visited by pilgrims. Many Russian pilgrims were now going to these places, and Nicholas was

angry at France's revived claims. The temper on both sides was unyielding. In 1853, the Czar haughtily demanded the right to protect all Christians in Turkey, a right that would have made him almost joint ruler with the Sultan. When, by the advice of the British ambassador to Turkey, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Sultan rejected this demand, Russia declared war on Turkey and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. Early in 1854 both Britain and France declared war against Russia. They had expected Austria to act with them, but she held back; instead, the little Italian kingdom of Sardinia joined the allies with an army of fifteen thousand men. This she did in order to assert a position of leadership in Italy that should help her to bring about Italian unity.

The siege of Sebastopol.—Thus, with little real forethought, did Europe break the long peace of forty years and begin a new and terrible era of war. The allies made the chief object of their attack the great Russian fortress and naval arsenal of Sebastopol, in the Crimea. To besiege it was a serious undertaking. Owing to the long peace, Britain's army had fallen into pitiable disorder. Most of



THE CRIMEA

her generals were old men. Lord Raglan, the British commander, had served in the Peninsular War and fought at Waterloo, and now was advanced in years. Though a brave soldier, he was not a great leader. On the French side, too, no general of special resource appeared, and the armies suffered from a lack of promptness and vigour. Instead of setting out early in the spring of 1854, so as to work in the summer, the allied forces started late and did not arrive before Sebastopol until the middle of September. Even then success was within

reach. On September 20th, the allies found the Russian army drawn up on heights above the little river Alma, near Sebastopol. They charged up the hill, and after a bloody struggle, the brunt of which was borne by the British, they put the Russians to flight. Had they pressed on then, Sebastopol would probably have fallen at once. But no leader inspired the tired troops to this work, and the chance was lost. The Russians, directed by an engineer of genius, Colonel Todleben, threw up new works, sank their fleet across the harbour mouth of Sebastopol so as to keep out ships of the enemy, and were soon ready for the long winter.

Balaklava and Inkerman, 1854.—The British, on the other hand, were totally unprepared for its bitter hardships. Though food lay only a short distance away, the troops starved, because the system of transport had broken down; the men were without proper clothing, and the sick were long uncared for. Moreover, an absurd system of red tape hampered the action of those who tried to correct evils. In time these ills were remedied. Miss Florence Nightingale reorganized the nursing of the sick and wounded soldiers and this reform softened some of the horrors of war. Yet they were dire. The English lost twenty-four thousand soldiers during the war, and the French the much larger number of sixty-three thousand five hundred. The Russians were not content to remain within their lines, but made frequent sorties. On October 25th, 1854, they attacked the British at Balaklava, and won a partial success. It was in this engagement that the Light Brigade made the gallant but needless charge. The French said of it, "It is magnificent, but it is not war"; yet the splendid courage shown in this and other charges on that day made Balaklava seem almost a victory. The Russians again, on November 5th, attacked the allies who held a ridge known as Inkerman, near Balaklava. The battle showed the British soldier at his best. On him the brunt of the defence fell. The allies were outnumbered, three to one, but they drove back the Russians.

The fall of Sebastopol, 1855.—For a long year the siege

went on, and finally, in September, 1855, the allies attempted to carry Sebastopol by assault. The French succeeded in their task of carrying and holding the Malakoff and the Little Redan Towers; the British took, but could not hold, the Great Redan. This partial success, however, made Sebastopol untenable; the Russians destroyed what they could, and left the blackened walls to the victors. The siege had cost as many as one hundred thousand lives, and its anxieties killed the Czar Nicholas in 1855. His successor at length yielded. In March, 1856, a treaty was signed at Paris, by which Turkey promised reforms, and Russia agreed to keep no warships on the Black Sea and to leave Sebastopol unfortified, obligations which she promptly disavowed in 1870, when Europe was occupied with other questions. A British prime minister has since said that his country, in his own sporting language, "put her money on the wrong horse" in the Crimean War. To him it seemed that Turkey had proved herself incapable of reform. More recent liberal movements in that country have, however, aroused hopes that the Turk may still justify the sacrifices made to save his rule in Europe.

6. THE INDIAN MUTINY

The trouble in China, 1856.—Before the war was over, the Earl of Aberdeen retired, and the veteran Palmerston, at the age of seventy, became, for the first time, prime minister. He was destined to remain in office almost continuously until his death in 1865, and in that time to see much strife. The Crimean War had scarcely ended when Britain found herself at war with China. In earlier ages, when the East was almost completely cut off from the West, that great empire had been barely heard of in Europe. Only occasional traders or missionaries had gone to China. Yet, for centuries, China had led the East; even Japan had been her pupil, content to sit at her feet. To the Chinese other peoples were "barbarians," and all the world owed submission to the emperor of China. The Chinese

would not believe that the ruler of Britain was anything more than an obscure vassal whose subjects came to offer tribute. Naturally, the British, masters of a great part of India, met scorn with scorn, and frequent quarrels followed. From



HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, VISCOUNT
PALMERSTON (1784-1865)

time to time the Chinese, who wished to exclude all European traders, committed outrages, particularly on the British. At last, to obtain redress, the British made war on China, defeated her, and, by the Treaty of Nanking, in 1843, secured Hong Kong as a British possession. They also gained for British traders the right of free entrance to certain Chinese ports. The British thus had a footing in China. But the governor of Canton, near Hong Kong, swore that, treaty or no treaty, he would allow no "foreign devils" within the gates

of the city, and the trouble came to a head in 1856. For some alleged crime the Chinese authorities seized the Chinese crew of the *Arrow*, a small trading vessel, which carried the British flag. When the British demanded redress, the governor of Canton not only refused to negotiate, but offered thirty dollars each for "devils' heads," that is, heads of Englishmen, and a good many were brought to him. Lord Palmerston was not a prime minister to be trifled with. His opponents in the Commons condemned his arrogance in dealing with China, but an election brought him back with a good majority. Then, in the midst of the excitement about China, news came suddenly which turned all eyes elsewhere. In May, 1857, a terrible mutiny broke out in India among the native soldiery.

The causes of the Indian Mutiny.—Step by step, Britain had extended her power in India, until, at this period, nearly the whole peninsula was under her rule. There

is no doubt that the chief reason of this growth was the contrast between the justice of the British and the tyranny and exactions of the native rulers. But unchanging success was needed to impress the oriental mind, and, in time, the British arms met with a number of reverses. In 1842, they had suffered a fearful disaster in Afghanistan, when a British force of fourteen thousand five hundred men was cut to pieces, only one man escaping. A little later, during the Crimean War, Britain had won no laurels as a great military power, and exaggerated stories of defeats had reached India. To the growing belief in Britain's weakness was linked a conviction that her rule, which had been established by the victory at Plassey in 1757 (p. 388) was, by a decree of fate, doomed to end exactly a century later, in 1857. The unchanging East regarded with disdain the representatives of the restless West who had brought with them railways, the telegraph, and other innovations. Native pride increasingly resented the dominance of the outsider who, it was whispered, meant to force even his religion on India.

The outbreak of the mutiny, 1857.—As Britain's empire grew, she enlisted many native soldiers, until her army in India contained more than three hundred thousand native troops and less than forty thousand Europeans. In 1856, the new Enfield rifle was served out to the troops, and the report spread that the cartridges were smeared with grease from cows and pigs. There was this truth in the rumour: no care had been taken to ensure that such grease should not be used. To the Hindu the cow is sacred, to the Moslem the pig is accursed; and insult seemed thus to be directed against both these religions. At that time the soldier had to bite the bullet before it could be used, and the conviction grew that, in requiring him to put the greasy lead into his mouth, the aim was to defile him and make him a despised outcast among his own people. He might then be the more willing to take refuge in Christianity. This completed the ferment in the army. In May, 1857, native troops at Meerut, near Delhi, rose, butchered all the English on whom they could

lay hands, and marched off to Delhi. Here they declared British rule at an end, and proclaimed as their lawful sovereign the surviving descendant of the Great Mogul, who was living at Delhi on a pension from Britain. The outbreak was in no sense a national movement, but was confined to the native soldiery in the Bengal Presidency. Bombay and Madras remained quiet, and even in affected districts the people as a whole took no part in the struggle. None the less were the results terrible. The rebels were soldiers in mutiny and they knew that, if vanquished, they would be punished with the rigour of military law. For them, therefore, the war was relentless; pledges and mercy alike they disregarded. As the news of the rising came in, the British were both horrified and maddened by the pitiless massacre not merely of men, but of helpless women and children.

The siege of Delhi.—At Calcutta, the governor-general, Earl Canning, son of a former prime minister, George Canning, (p. 463) had the task of sending troops to the interior. The forces on the way to China were diverted to India, but many weary weeks passed before adequate help could be obtained from Britain. Far up the country beyond Delhi, Sir John Lawrence was administering the Punjaub, and, cut off from Canning by the mutineers, as he was, he had to act on his own initiative. Every one trusted him, and, by his great tact, he saved the Punjaub from joining in the rising, and was able to make it the basis for recovering Delhi. There, with brutal ferocity, the mutineers had massacred young and old, until not a Christian was left alive in the place. The cruel victors were not left long to enjoy their triumph. Within a month, Lawrence had sent an army against Delhi. This was the first vital check to the mutineers. They held out in Delhi for a long time; but, instead of sweeping everything before them, they were themselves besieged in the capital of the Mogul emperors.

Massacre of Cawnpore.—Meanwhile, a little farther down toward Calcutta, the struggle was going badly for the British. The province of Oude had been only recently

annexed, and here Sir Henry Lawrence, brother of Sir John, was in command. When the rising began, Lawrence entrenched himself in the governor's residence at Lucknow, and prepared to hold out. The rebels attacked him fiercely, but, though Lawrence himself was killed during the siege, they could not conquer the few hundred British and loyal native troops who held the Residency. At Cawnpore, forty miles away, the mutineers were more successful, and it was there that the worst outrages occurred. Two hundred and forty British soldiers in Cawnpore had the task of protecting eight or nine hundred non-combatants against thousands of foes who besieged the place. The rebel leader was the Nana Sahib, a prince who had a grievance against the British government because an enormous pension, enjoyed by his adopted father during life, had not been continued to him. In the end, the British agreed to surrender Cawnpore if they themselves were sent in safety down the Ganges to Allahabad. The Nana Sahib took a solemn oath to do this, but, when the boats were loaded, his men fired upon them and a fearful massacre followed. Some two hundred women and children were still in his hands, and they also met an awful fate. When a British force under General Havelock was drawing near Cawnpore, the Nana Sahib hacked his prisoners to pieces, and the dead, and others still faintly breathing, were alike thrown into a deep well.

Relief of Lucknow, 1857.—General Havelock, sent forward by Canning, recaptured Cawnpore on July 17th. His march was made in terrible heat. Yet he won four victories and advanced one hundred and twenty-six miles during the last nine days. Though Lucknow was so near, the country was held by the mutineers, and Havelock had to fight every step of his way there. For a time he was driven back to Cawnpore. In September, however, he managed to relieve the garrison, but only to find himself besieged in Lucknow. Not until November was the place finally rescued, and a few days after its relief, Havelock died. Delhi, the British took by assault on September 20th.

after fighting their way step by step through the streets of the city. By this time reinforcements were pouring in from Britain, and the spring of 1858 saw the end of the rising.

The India Bill, 1858.—The mutineers were sternly punished. Though the chief criminal, the Nana Sahib, escaped, some of those most guilty were blown from the mouths of cannon. The mutiny showed that the natives, without unity of aim, could not stand against British union and discipline. Moreover, the peasantry had not proved hostile to British rule. It was, as many of them well understood, the one security against an era of pillage and disorder in India. The mutiny led to a complete reorganization of the government. By a new India Bill (p. 436), passed in 1858, the political power of the East India Company ended, and India came directly under the queen as sovereign, and was to be ruled by a viceroy, whose policy should be directed by a secretary of state for India, responsible to the British Parliament.

The treaty of Peking, 1860.—While the mutiny lasted, the situation in China scarcely changed. By this time, France had joined Britain in demanding redress from China. The allies took and sacked Canton in December, 1858, but even this reverse produced slight effect upon the emperor at Peking, who still thought his assailants petty barbarians almost beneath notice. He steadily refused to receive any foreign envoy. Not until after much hard fighting and bloodshed did the British representative, the Earl of Elgin, force his way to Peking in 1860. To punish the Chinese for the treacherous murder of Englishmen, who fell into their hands, Lord Elgin burned the emperor's summer palace. Although not admitted to the emperor's presence, he secured a treaty from him, that of Tientsin, and since then China has remained in touch with European powers.

The Trent affair, 1861, and the Alabama question, 1863.—Just when the war in China ended, civil war broke out in the United States. The South had become convinced that the North intended to abolish slavery, and prepared to resist a step which threatened to ruin the landowners by

taking away their supply of negro labour. Eleven Southern states declared that, having entered the union freely, they were free also to withdraw from it, and in 1861 they formed a separate union, the Confederate States of America. War broke out when the North refused to admit the right to withdraw. In England the belief was then general that the Southern States would achieve their separate independence, and they had the sympathy of many leading statesmen. The war cut off Britain's supply of raw cotton from the South and caused great distress in Britain by throwing many operatives out of work; and this added to the irritation felt against the North. In 1861, a United States cruiser stopped a British ship, *The Trent*, upon the high seas and removed from her Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, two envoys of the Southern States on their way to Europe. It was a high-handed proceeding, due to mistaken zeal, and it aroused in Britain intense excitement. Lord Palmerston protested with characteristic vigour, and there was real danger of war. But Abraham Lincoln, the president of the United States, in spite of much clamour against his course, admitted that the act was improper and handed over the envoys. In Britain the queen's husband, Prince Albert, had helped to smooth the path for conciliation. It was his last public service for he died in the same year. A little later the United States had just cause to complain that Britain had violated the law of nations. The Confederate privateer *Alabama* was fitted out at a British port, and allowed to go to sea in spite of warnings from the United States. She inflicted enormous injury upon American shipping, for which the United States held Britain responsible. In the end, as a result of arbitration, Britain paid heavy damages for the losses caused by the *Alabama*.

7. DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

The second Reform Bill, 1867.—The most vital interest of the latter part of Victoria's reign was not in war, but in domestic reform. Lord Palmerston, a Whig in name,

was half a Tory, and, while he lived, radical reform was checked. His death in 1865, in his eighty-first year, left his party free to work for needed changes. The pressing question now was that of a still wider extension of



BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF
BEACONSFIELD (1805-1881)

the right to vote. As yet the working-man had not this right. Lord John, now Earl, Russell, who had brought in the first Reform Bill (p. 465), succeeded Palmerston as prime minister, and, in 1866, Gladstone, a member of his cabinet, introduced a second Reform Bill. But Earl Russell found that many of his Liberal followers had no desire for further reform, and he soon resigned. On the other hand, at least one member of the incoming Tory cabinet, formed by the Earl of Derby, saw that something must be

done. Benjamin Disraeli, the leader of the House of Commons, led the Tories in offering a more advanced bill than that which Gladstone had proposed. In 1867, therefore, though not without murmurs from his own side, he brought in a Reform Bill which became law. The voters in the English counties secured nothing by this measure, for the right to vote was still limited to those who owned land worth £2 a year (a very small number), or paid not less than £10 in rental, and neither of these classes included the agricultural labourer, whose day was still to come. In the towns, however, all householders were given votes, and thus the number of electors was enormously increased, chiefly by working-men. Disraeli became prime minister on Lord Derby's retirement in 1868 through ill-health, and had a difficult rôle to fill. With the steady extension of the franchise he had so to popularize the Conservative party as

to make its policy acceptable to the masses of the people. The queen had misgivings about the growth of democracy, but he assured her, with truth, that the crown had nothing to fear from giving power to the masses of the people.

Disraeli and Gladstone.—Though Earl Russell lived until 1878, he retired from public life after the defeat of his government in 1866, and from that time Gladstone was the leader of the Liberal party. The new voters under the second Reform Bill of 1867 showed no gratitude to Disraeli, for he lost the election of 1868, and Gladstone then became prime minister. He and his rival, Disraeli, stand in marked contrast. Gladstone had been devout and serious from his early youth; he possessed little humour, and was intensely in earnest about everything, great and small. In early life Disraeli, on the other hand, posed as a fop and a dandy; he wrote clever novels and satires, and was full of reckless and extravagant audacity. He began as a Radical and ended as a Conservative, while Gladstone was first a Tory, then a Peelite, and in the end almost, if not quite, a Radical. Disraeli's lack of seriousness and easy adjustment of his policy to changing conditions made him seem to Gladstone, with his strong convictions, a time-server, without conscience. Like other leaders of his party, Disraeli was interested in foreign and imperial, rather than in merely home, questions. He was master of the art of pleasing the queen, and he secured every sign of royal favour.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE
(1809-1898)

Gladstone's reforms, including Elementary Education Act, 1870.—Gladstone undertook many reforms. He achieved sweeping changes in Ireland (p. 502), after long and bitter controversy. In 1871 he swept away the whole purchase system by which officers in the army with money could buy promotion over the heads of more deserving but poorer

men. In 1872 he carried a Ballot Act, by which voting was made secret, and the poorer voters were freed from intimidation by their employers. He also improved the condition of English education. It was still wholly in the hands of the churches, or of private persons. In some villages there were no schools, and even where schools existed no law compelled the attendance of children. Not until after the Reform Bill of 1832 had Parliament given any direct aid to education, and it is to the credit of the first reformed Parliament that it voted £20,000 for this purpose. But the subsidy remained totally inadequate. After the second Reform Bill in 1867, when Britain accepted more than two million new voters, Robert Lowe, a leading Liberal of the time, said, "We must now at least educate our masters." The new masters were eager for enlightenment, and at length, in 1870, an Elementary Education Act became law. Under this Act grants were still made to aid the private or church schools already existing, but a general scheme of state-supported education was also, for the first time, organized. Districts might now create school boards, levy taxes to support the schools, and compel the children to attend. Since that time the subsidy of the state to education has grown enormously, until now many millions of pounds are voted each year for this purpose.

The Unification of Italy, 1870, and of Germany, 1871.—The years following the Crimean War, which saw many social reforms in Britain, found the continent of Europe convulsed with war. The great struggles in Europe of the latter half of the previous century had a principal cause in the rivalry of Britain and France for world power. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the efforts of the Italian and of the German people to effect national unity led to important struggles. In 1859, France joined Sardinia, her ally in the Crimean War, for the purpose of forcing Austria to give up her control of some of the provinces of Italy. The success of this war led, in the end, to the union of all Italy in the year 1870. The establishment of Italian unity was soon

followed by the unification of Germany. The German people had long been divided into a number of separate states. If union came, it was uncertain which of the two most powerful of these states, Austria or Prussia, would draw to itself the lesser states. In 1866, this question was settled by the appeal to the sword, when Prussia defeated Austria and ended the influence of that state in Germany. France feared a neighbour as powerful as Prussia, and thought she could check her. The result was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. At its close Prussia, completely victorious over France, united the lesser German states with her to form the German empire, which has remained since then the strongest military state in Europe. Britain took no direct part in these wars, for her interests were not menaced. She was watching Russia, and when Russia made a move, Britain showed herself ready to strike if necessary.

Defeat of Turkey by Russia, 1878.—An election in 1874 gave Disraeli a large Conservative majority, and he continued in office for six years. He pleased the queen greatly by getting Parliament to give her, in 1876, the rank of empress of India, a title thought to be more imposing than that of queen. He himself became, in 1876, Earl of Beaconsfield. The agitation for "Home Rule" in Ireland was now acute, and was to disturb British politics for the rest of the reign of Victoria (p. 503). But the most critical question for Beaconsfield's administration was the policy to be adopted toward Turkey and Russia. The Turk had not reformed himself since the Crimean War. The Bulgarians, Servians, and other peoples whom he ruled, seeing what Italians and Germans had done to become free nations, prepared to throw off the Turkish yoke. They did not act together, and when the Bulgarians alone took up arms they were reconquered by the Turks, who committed horrible barbarities in the war. Gladstone now urged vehemently that, for the Bulgarian atrocities, the Turk should be expelled from Europe, "bag and baggage," and one state, Russia, proved quite ready to undertake the task of destroying Turkish power. She invaded Turkey, won

victory after victory, and in 1873 was before the gates of Constantinople.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878.—It was Britain's fixed resolution not to allow Russia to hold Constantinople, and now, when its fall seemed imminent, Lord Beaconsfield demanded that Russia should agree to submit the questions raised by the situation in Turkey to a congress of European powers. To this Russia at length agreed, and the Congress of Berlin was held in 1878. By a treaty then made at Berlin some provinces of Turkey in Europe were formed into independent states, with Russia as their chief protector. The Turk remained master at Constantinople with many promises of reform. Under a secret treaty with Turkey, Britain occupied Cyprus, but she guaranteed in return the integrity of Asiatic Turkey. Lord Beaconsfield came back from Berlin, boasting that he had gained "peace with honour." It may be doubted whether his course was wholly wise. He had gained nothing, for Cyprus has been a burden ever since, and he had angered Russia anew by the pledge to support Turkey in Asia. The result was that Russia was soon busy making trouble for Britain on the frontiers of India.

The Suez Canal.—An election in 1880 brought Gladstone back to power, and, in 1881, Lord Beaconsfield died. Gladstone wished to devote himself to reforms at home, but he could not keep clear of foreign difficulties. It was now Egypt which gave trouble. Napoleon Bonaparte had seen that Britain could be threatened in India from Egypt (p. 441) and this was now clearer than ever. In 1869, French engineers had completed the Suez Canal. For the first time ships could now reach India by way of the Mediterranean, and the route was thus greatly shortened. Britain, fearing that the French who built the canal had some political design on India, at first disliked the project. Later, however, she acquired a large interest in the canal. It happened that the Khedive of Egypt held a great many shares in the Canal Company. He was a spendthrift, and when, in 1875, he offered to sell his shares to the British government, Lord

Beaconsfield had accepted the offer. This excellent bargain gave Britain nearly half the capital stock of the company.

Death of General Gordon, 1885.—The Khedive's affairs went from bad to worse, and at last, in 1879, Britain and France took joint control of the finances of Egypt in order to protect the interests of her creditors. A new crisis came, in 1882, when Arabi Pasha led a revolt in Egypt against this European control, and seized the forts at the great city of Alexandria. Britain invited France to help to crush the revolt, but, for some reason, France declined. Then the British acted alone, bombarded the forts at Alexandria, and captured the city. A little later General Wolseley met Arabi in battle at Tel-el-Kebir, and defeated him. By these events Britain was drawn into a military occupation of Egypt, which she still maintains. Soon after this occupation Britain was greatly troubled by a rising in the Sudan, a great desert province of Egypt on the Upper Nile, where the Mahdi, a supposed prophet of Islam, had led a desolating revolt. It was decided to abandon the Sudan, and to withdraw the garrisons. This task, which required knowledge and skill, was intrusted in 1884 to General Charles George Gordon, who had already governed the Sudan. Gordon went to Khartoum, the chief city of that region, and was soon hemmed in by the forces of the Mahdi. Succour from England was sent too tardily. He held out for nearly a year, but, in 1885, a few days before help arrived, Khartoum fell and he was killed.

The third Reform Bill.—The death of Gordon shook Gladstone's power. He had hesitated and delayed while hostile forces were closing in on that lonely hero. Gordon's Christian faith and courage appealed to the whole civilized world, and chiefly as a result of his tragic end the voters rejected the Liberal government in 1885. It had carried through one great reform. To extend the right to vote, Gladstone passed the Third Reform Bill in 1884. Since 1867 the right to vote in the towns had required a lower franchise than was needed in the counties (p. 494); **now** the franchise was reduced for the counties too. By this

measure the agricultural labourers secured a vote, and Britain, with some five million voters, was at last a real democracy. A Redistribution Bill was passed in 1885 with the aim of making the constituencies as nearly equal in population as possible. It was inevitable that the wide extension of the right to vote should raise new questions in Parliament. Now the masses of the people of Ireland for the first time became voters, and they used their power to demand Home Rule more urgently than ever. For the next twenty years two great questions were to occupy Britain—Home Rule for Ireland, and the control of South Africa, both of them complex and difficult problems.

8. THE IRISH QUESTION

The famine in Ireland, 1846.—The election of 1885, under the new franchise, had the singular result of making the Conservatives and the members from Ireland who demanded Home Rule exactly equal in number to the Liberals. This gave the Irish members the balance of power, and at once forced the Irish question to the front. To see the situation as a whole, we must look back half a century. Daniel O'Connell, who had first pressed the demand for repeal of the union, was a great orator. The Irish people hung upon his words; then he could move as he liked; but he could not arouse England to any interest in Irish affairs. O'Connell died in 1847, broken hearted at the greatest tragedy in Irish history, the famine of 1846. By 1845 the population of Ireland, less than three millions at the time of the union, had nearly trebled. It was not the growth of new industries that led, as in England, to such an increase; a peculiar agriculture made possible Ireland's eight and a half millions. The peasant with but a small holding found that the potato gave the largest quantity of food from the smallest area, and, in a great part of Ireland this became almost the sole crop. In 1845 there was a partial failure of the potato; in 1846,

almost in a night, a terrible blight fell upon the crop, and Ireland was left without food. The sympathy of the world was aroused; the British Parliament spent money freely and private charity was generous. But the means of getting food supplies into the country were inadequate, and the crisis was so sudden that thousands died of starvation before an effective system of relief could be provided. Disease followed in the wake of famine; travellers passing through Ireland saw hundreds of bodies lying by the roadsides. There was a rush to escape from the doomed country, but the emigrant ships were so over-crowded and unsanitary that in them disease was even more fatal than upon land. Within three years, two millions left the country, and the movement has continued, until, at the present time, the population of Ireland has decreased to little more than one half of what it was before 1846. Tragic as was the enforced exile of the people, it yet wrought the double benefit of giving them new homes and of relieving the pressure of population in the motherland.

The Fenian movement.—The year 1848 was a year of revolution in Europe, and when France became, for a brief time, a republic, some Irish patriots hoped by her aid to set up a republic in Ireland. William Smith O'Brien led an armed revolt, but it was feeble and ended in the transportation of himself and others to Australia. The condition of Ireland was now deplorable. One third of the landowners had been ruined by the famine. They could not pay their debts, and, to relieve the situation, Parliament passed, in 1849, the Encumbered Estates Act, under which land tied up by entail and fixed charges could be sold for the benefit of creditors. But when land was thus thrown upon the market, it was bought, not by the Irish people, but by speculators, who took advantage of the low price, and proved harder masters than the old landlords. A new movement of discontent soon appeared. The close of the American Civil War in 1865 had left without occupation many restless Irish soldiers who had seen service in the war, and they planned the Fenian movement, which

resulted in a wild enterprise of revolt in Ireland and a futile invasion of Canada.

The disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869.—Ill-judged as was the Fenian agitation it yet served the useful purpose of calling renewed attention to the Irish problem. One great English statesman was at last aroused to the needs of Ireland. In 1869, Gladstone undertook the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Little more than one tenth of the people of Ireland belonged to this church, which was modelled upon the Church of England, and yet Roman Catholics and Presbyterians alike paid tithes for its support. The grievance of the tithe, as it bore upon Roman Catholics, had been softened, in part, by a grant of £25,000 a year from the British government to support the college at Maynooth, near Dublin, for training Roman Catholic clergy. But a state church, alien from the masses of the people, could not endure, and, in 1869, after a keen struggle, the Church of Ireland was wholly separated from the state. It retained, however, the church buildings and the endowments secured since 1660. Moreover, the existing clergy were to enjoy their revenues during life. But the other endowments were devoted to public purposes.

Tenant right under the Land Act of 1870.—Gladstone followed the attack on the Irish Church by grappling with the land question, the real problem of Irish politics. This centred in the question of tenant right. In England, the owner of the land paid for the farm buildings, fences, drains, and other improvements, and the tenant secured a farm equipped for him in this way. In Ireland, however, a different custom prevailed; improvements were made by the tenant. Yet, costly though they might be, they belonged to the landlord, and, when the lease terminated, they went to him. The system was obviously unjust to the tenant, and in one part of Ireland, Ulster, settled by English and Scots, it did not prevail. By the Ulster system the tenant owned the improvements and might sell both lease and improvements to any one of good character. It sometimes happened that the improvements were equal in

value to the land itself, and, where this tenant right existed, the tenant was really a part owner and could be disturbed, even at the end of his lease, only if the landlord was willing to buy the improvements. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 extended this right to the rest of Ireland, and thus made the tenant joint owner with the landlord.

Parnell and the Home Rule Movement.—The securing of one reform led inevitably to the demand for others. O'Connell had agitated for repeal of the union, but owing to the English distrust of an independent Irish Parliament this demand was replaced by one for Home Rule; that is, for a Parliament which should regulate Irish home affairs without being independent. The Home Rule movement, started by Isaac Butt in 1871, only became effective a few years later, when

Charles Stewart Parnell, a very remarkable man, became leader of the Irish party. Parnell, a Protestant gentleman of good family, had a passionate hatred for England, and his aim was wholly to destroy English influence in Ireland. He formed the Irish members of Parliament favouring Home Rule into a compact body under strict discipline. He also appealed to Irishmen in America to aid with money. Meanwhile, others continued the agitation in Ireland on the land question. In 1879

Michael Davitt originated the National Land League to force the lowering of rents. The land of Ireland, he said, belonged to the Irish people; and the League made a determined attack on the "rack rents," by which the landlord took from the tenant all that he could possibly pay. The policy of the League was to aid its members in resisting the demand for such rents. If the landlord would not accept a moderate rent, the tenant often refused to pay any rent at all. In the troubled times which followed,



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL
(1846-1891)

those who opposed the League were terrorized under a system that came to be known as "boycotting," because first used against a certain Captain Boycott.

The Land Act of 1881 concedes the "Three F's."—After 1880 the disorder in Ireland was so great that Gladstone passed the Land Act of 1881, to quiet the country. It gave important aid to the tenant. No longer had the landlord alone the right to fix the rate of rent. In cases of dispute, a Land Court now had power to settle this for terms of fifteen years. This measure which removed from the owner of property full right of control over it, could be defended only on the theory, at last conceded, that the interest of the tenant, as well as that of the landlord, was permanent. But "the Three F's," which the tenant now secured, Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, Free Sale of lease and improvements, did not go far enough for Parnell. He kept up an agitation, and, in the end, urged violence so openly that he and other leaders were sent to Kilmainham jail, while the government suppressed the Land League. But all this time the thought was working in Gladstone's mind that coercion would not cure the ills of Ireland, and that further concessions must be made. In 1882, Parnell was set free, and a policy of conciliation began.

Defeat of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, 1886.—This policy seemed mistaken when in May, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, just appointed to carry out its terms, and Mr. Burke, a high Irish official, were murdered in Dublin. The horror at this brutal deed was such that stern repression seemed more than ever necessary. But new conditions came in 1884, when the Third Reform Bill gave votes to the masses of the people of Ireland. In the election of 1885, they sent to Parliament a solid phalanx of about seventy Home Rulers, who held the balance of power between the two great English parties. The obvious fact that his government could not exist without the support of these Irish members helped Mr. Gladstone to make up his mind to yield Home Rule. In 1886, he in-

roduced a bill to remove Irish members from the imperial Parliament, and to create a Parliament at Dublin with restricted powers. A further bill provided that the government should help tenants to buy their land.

Defeat of Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill, 1893.—Gladstone, however, could not carry out his policy of Home Rule. The Duke of Devonshire and Joseph Chamberlain led an important section of the Liberal party, who desired the maintenance of the union and took the name of "Liberal Unionists," into an alliance with the Conservatives, and drove the Liberal Home Rulers from power. The Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, became prime minister, and held office from 1886 to 1892. Agitation in Ireland went on. "The Plan of Campaign" was a league to resist payment of rent, and the Conservatives employed coercion to put it down. But they, too, in 1887, passed a Land Act reducing rent, giving tenants increased protection, and making easier the purchase of land. Further concessions followed, and the interest was keen when at last, in 1892, Gladstone came again into power, pledged to Home Rule. His bill of 1893 conceded a Parliament to Ireland. Under the new plan, Ireland was to send members to both the Imperial and the Irish Parliaments. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but, amidst great excitement, the Lords threw it out. A little later Mr. Gladstone retired from public life, and died in 1898. Under the Earl of Rosebery, who succeeded him as prime minister, the Liberal party was seriously divided. The new prime minister and a good many of his followers disliked Home Rule, and the question soon fell into the back-ground in British politics.

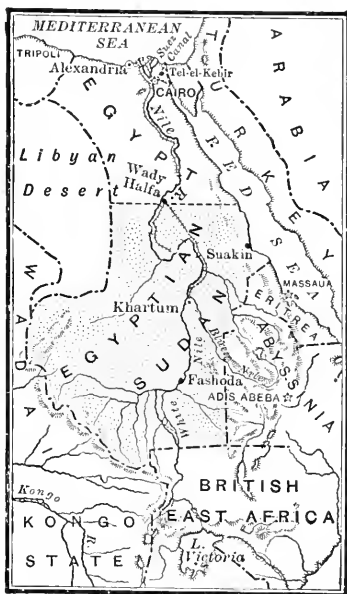
The Land Purchase Act of 1903.—In 1895 the Liberals were driven from office. Lord Salisbury, the new prime minister, would, of course, not hear of Home Rule, and it seemed as if Gladstone had wrecked the Liberal party without gaining the success for his cause which Peel had gained when he broke up the Tory party on the question of the Corn Laws. But the Conservatives found that they must deal in some way with the Irish question. At

length, in 1903, the cabinet of Mr. Balfour, the successor of Lord Salisbury as Conservative leader, grappled with the land question, the real cause of discontent in Ireland. The aim of the Land Bill of 1903 was to transfer the land from the landlords to the actual tillers of the soil. To buy the land they required government aid, and this was now forthcoming. The bill left landlord and tenant free to bargain as to the price of the land. When they agreed on a sum, the government was to pay this price to the landlord, with an additional bonus of about twelve per cent. to make him willing to sell. The tenant received the property as owner, with the right of paying for it in small annual instalments, spread over so long a time that the annual payment of capital and interest would usually amount to less than his former rent. The plan, favourable to landowner and tenant alike, won the approval of all classes, and brought near to fulfilment the dream of the Irish patriot that the land of Ireland should belong to the people of Ireland. Since 1903 a great deal of land has been bought by former tenants, and a large class of peasant proprietors has been created. Rural Ireland is, indeed, rapidly becoming more prosperous than rural England. In spite of this, however, the mass of the Irish people still demand Home Rule. Since the land question has been settled, Home Rule has been much less fiercely opposed, and the near future may see an Irish Parliament at Dublin.

7. THE BOER WAR

The reconquest of the Sudan, 1898.—When the second failure of the Liberals to give Ireland Home Rule brought in a Conservative government in 1895, Britain was on the eve of a great war. Egypt, having abandoned the Sudan, was itself in danger of being overrun by hordes from that country under a new leader, the Khalifa (p. 499). It was decided, therefore, to reconquer the province. General Kitchener was placed in command of a mixed force of Egyptians and British, and sent into the

Sudan to combat the vast numbers of fanatical dervishes. A great battle took place in 1898 at Omdurman, across the Nile from Khartoum, the scene of Gordon's tragic end. The Khalifa's forces displayed reckless valour, but they were mowed down in thousands by the guns of the British. Once more the Sudan came under the control of the Egyptian government, which provided a strong and orderly administration, and in time brought about great improvements in the reconquered province. The French, however, were not pleased that Britain should extend her sway on the Nile, and, just at the time of the battle of Omdurman, a French force under Captain Marchand advanced from French territory in West Africa, and appeared on the Upper Nile to claim that region for France. For



THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

a time there was danger of war between the two countries. The British government, however, declared firmly that the whole Nile valley lay within the sphere of British influence; and, in the end, France yielded this claim by a treaty signed in 1899. Since then British control over Egypt and the Sudan has been unquestioned.

The Boers in South Africa.—Meanwhile, just as war ended in North Africa, dark clouds were rising in the South. The Cape of Good Hope had been occupied by the Dutch in 1652, and became an important station on the trading route to India. The British seized it soon after the French Revolution broke out, but restored it to Holland by the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Again, however, in 1806,

the year after Trafalgar, when Britain had no longer any rival on the sea, a powerful British fleet sailed into Table Bay, landed an army of seven thousand men, and, after severe fighting, established British rule. In 1815, Britain's possession of the colony was finally confirmed (p. 457), and the Dutch in Cape Town and other centres settled down quietly under British rule. But the farmers, who are known by the name of Boers, had long been almost independent. They had not liked any outside control, even that of their kinsmen the Dutch, and of course they resented that of Britain. Slavery was being keenly opposed at this time, and, in 1833, was abolished in all the British dominions, including those in South Africa. The Dutch farmers held slaves and treated harshly the black races which dwelt near them; and now, rather than accept the new policy, they resolved to leave Cape Colony. Then began the emigration or "trek" of the Dutch into the interior. They crossed the Vaal River, and in the end founded two states, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. For a time these remained free republics. But they were always at strife with the native races, whose numbers formed a serious menace to the sparse Dutch population, and at last, in 1877, with the consent of some influential Boers, the republics were annexed to the British Empire.

The disaster at Majuba Hill, 1881.—Gladstone, who came into power in 1880, had opposed the policy of annexation, and was now met by a demand from the Boers for complete independence. To support their demand they attacked the British garrisons in the Transvaal. Desultory war followed. The Liberal government in Britain did not realize the danger, and the Boers gained some successes. At Majuba Hill in 1881 they cut to pieces a British force, killing the leader, Sir George Colley. Gladstone dealt gently with a brave little people struggling for independence. Even after Majuba he did not withdraw the terms of peace previously offered, though he might well have exacted something from the Boers, to compensate for British losses. A settlement was soon made with them

on the basis of their recognizing Britain's "suzerainty," whatever this might mean, and her control of their foreign affairs. This last provision was made to keep the Boers from forming alliances with other states against Great Britain.

The outbreak of the Boer War, 1899.—In England, public opinion condemned the failure to avenge a bloody defeat. The Boer farmers, on the other hand, remained discontented. Nothing short of absolute freedom would satisfy them. Having beaten the British at Majuba Hill, they came to despise British courage, and they made up their minds not only to secure entire independence, but also to extend their territory so as to include a seaport. In their plans they counted upon help from the Dutch in Cape Colony. Meanwhile, the course of events brought new irritation. The vast mineral wealth of the Transvaal now attracted outsiders, especially Englishmen, who, once settled in the country, began to demand the right to vote, though they wished, at the same time, to remain British subjects. This demand President Krüger of the Transvaal rejected.

When the British government backed up the demand of the outsiders, the Boers began quietly to spend the great revenues derived from taxes on the mining industry in securing effective equipment for war. Accordingly, when, Dr. Jameson, the British administrator of the adjoining territory of Rhodesia, led an armed force into the Transvaal in 1895, hoping to be assisted by a rising against President Krüger, he and those with him were made prisoners, and the incident so



EARL ROBERTS (1832-1914)

inflamed feeling that war soon became inevitable. In 1899, Britain, seeing what was coming, began to send troops to South Africa. Then President Krüger made a sudden demand that troops on the way out should not be landed. No heed was paid to his demand, and war broke out.

Union of South Africa, 1910.—The war proved to be a terrible struggle. The Boers, though few in number, were well equipped and scattered over a vast country, which they knew thoroughly. Their first attempt was to occupy the adjoining British colony of Natal and reach the sea-coast.



THE BOER REPUBLICS

They succeeded in shutting up a British force of twelve thousand men in the little town of Ladysmith. While they laid siege to this place, and the British, under General Buller, tried to relieve it, British troops were poured into South Africa in such numbers that four hundred thousand troops served in the field against the Boers. At first the British suffered reverses. Finally Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, Britain's two most experienced generals, were sent to South Africa. Slowly the strength of the Boers was worn down. They failed to take Ladysmith, or any other of the important places they besieged; while, by the middle of 1900, the British had occupied the two Boer capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria. But the Dutch farmers fought on with the tenacity of their race, and not until 1902 did the war end. It proved very costly, more so even than the Crimean War, and added greatly to the already heavy national debt of Britain. The two states were annexed to the British Empire, but a promise was given that self-government should soon be granted. The promise was nobly fulfilled, when, in 1906, General Botha,

They succeeded in shutting up a British force of twelve thousand men in the little town of Ladysmith. While they laid siege to this place, and the British, under General Buller, tried to relieve it, British troops were poured into South Africa in such numbers that four hundred

who had been the commander-in-chief of the Boer army against the British, became prime minister of the Transvaal as a self-governing British colony. An even more important result soon followed. In 1910 the four South Africa colonies united to form one great state to be known as the Union of South Africa (p. 525).

Succession of Edward VII, 1901.—Before the war in South Africa ended, the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 saddened the whole British Empire. Her reign of nearly sixty-four years is the longest in British history, and the most remarkable for far-reaching changes in political and social life. The queen herself had come to occupy a unique position in the world; probably no sovereign was ever before so widely respected, or so generally mourned. Her successor, Edward VII, had already reached the mature age of fifty-nine, and his long training in the difficult position of heir to the throne, endowed him with special tact and discretion for the high office of king. His great influence was used in promoting friendly relations with other countries. Partly through his influence, Britain reached an understanding with France that soon led to the settlement of all questions likely to cause strife, and to the cordial co-operation of the two nations. Russia, too, chastened by a disastrous war with Japan, which ended in 1905, joined her ally France in friendly relations with Great Britain.



KING EDWARD VII (1841-1910)

The attack on Free Trade.—Soon after the accession of Edward VII, Lord Salisbury retired from office and was succeeded as prime minister by his able nephew, A. J. Balfour. A powerful wing of the Unionist party led by Joseph Chamberlain now attacked free trade, and advo-

ated protection against the foreigner, with a preference in the tariff for the colonies. A good many Unionists still supported free trade, which was also the policy of the Liberal party. As a result of the attack on free trade, the Conservative government, which had carried through the South African War, fell in 1906, and the Liberals came in with a large majority. Since that time three chief topics have dominated political thought in Britain. The question of the navy is a serious one. The building of a great fleet by Germany has led to the fear that Britain's mastery of the sea is endangered, and has caused her to add many battleships to a fleet already enormous. Social reform furnishes the second important topic. The labouring classes, having at last secured votes, are pressing for improvements in their condition. In 1908 pensions for all needy persons who had reached the age of seventy were granted at an annual cost of many millions of pounds. Further measures to improve the lot of the poor still pressed for attention, and to carry them increased revenues were necessary. Out of this came the third great issue, that affecting the House of Lords. In 1909, the Liberal government proposed new taxes, chiefly on land. To many landowners, these seemed unjust. In consequence, the House of Lords, the stronghold of the landed interests, took the bold step of rejecting the budget, the bill granting these taxes. The Liberals claimed that, by long custom, the Lords had lost the power of rejecting financial bills. A keenly contested election followed early in 1910. This the Liberals carried and the Lords were obliged to pass the budget.

George V, 1910.—In May, 1910, the British Empire was called to mourn the death of Edward VII. In his short reign of nine years he had earned the honourable title of the Peacemaker. His death and the succession of his son George V were followed for a time by a truce in the war of party. It was soon resumed, however, in the form of a determined attack on the power of the House of Lords. The Liberals brought forward a bill with two chief proposals: (1) the Lords should have no control of finance;

(2) a bill twice rejected by the Lords might become law without their consent, if passed a third time by the Commons, and if not less than two years had elapsed after its first passing. A second election took place in 1910 on this issue. The Liberals were successful, and the bill, which also shortened the term of Parliament to five years, became law in 1911. Thus did the Commons, at first so feeble (p. 128), assume the sole final authority in the state.

10. THE PROGRESS OF LETTERS AND THE STATE OF SOCIETY

Macaulay and Carlyle.—The volume of modern English literature is so great that it is possible to mention only a few writers that are in the first rank. The chief figure in the world of letters, after Wordsworth died in 1850, was Lord Macaulay (1800-1859). His brilliant *Essays* made him famous while still young, but his crowning work was his *History of England*. The five volumes cover only the reigns of James II and William III. Macaulay's fault as a historian is his partiality; he overpraises the Whigs. But he had a vast store of knowledge which he made use of in a style so clear and interesting that his works were read with delight by all classes; a society of working-men formally thanked him for history which they could understand. Macaulay's contemporary, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), was a vigorous essayist. He had an intense hatred for shams, and he attacked them with keen irony. His chief work, however, was historical. His *Frederick the Great*, *The French Revolution*, and *Cromwell* are all books of immense power, written, however, in a rugged style that repels those who have not patience to discover the author's real greatness.

Dickens and Thackeray.—The two great novelists of modern England are Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863). Dickens knew intimately the characteristics of the lower and middle classes, and he describes them with delightful humour and

insight. *The Pickwick Papers* still charm many readers, and *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Barnaby Rudge*, *David Copperfield* and others of his works are almost as popular. Thackeray's writings were never read by the masses of the people as were those of Dickens; he had not the same knowledge of their thought. The world of fashion he satirized in *Vanity Fair*; he showed scholarly taste and wide reading in *Henry Esmond*, a tale of the time of Queen Anne; and in *The Virginians*, *The Newcomes*, and other novels, and in his many essays, he found play for his satirical humour. Mrs. Cross (1819-1880) who, under the pen name of "George Eliot," wrote such striking books as *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss*, and *Romola*, will always rank as a great novelist. Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), too, wrote *Westward Ho* and other novels full of vigorous life.

Ruskin and Darwin.—John Ruskin (1819-1900) has the twofold character of an art critic and a social reformer. His *Stones of Venice* and *Modern Painters* produced a marked effect upon English taste in art. He saw with vivid intensity the beauty of nature. The sorrows of the poor troubled his spirit, and he spent much of his life in planning their betterment; but he was too full of passion and too dogmatic to lead the way to the social reforms which he desired. His lofty tone and mastery of style give him a high place among English prose writers. Another Englishman, Charles Darwin (1809-1882) ranks as a man of science rather than as a man of letters. He had a lucid style, and we owe to *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* new views as to the forces in nature which mould all forms of life. The teaching of Darwin has, indeed, profoundly affected our whole outlook on the world.

Browning and Tennyson.—Great poets have not been wanting in an age so remarkable for its achievements in prose. Robert Browning (1812-1889) and Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) both stand in the first rank. The breadth of the poetic thought of modern England is in sharp contrast with the narrowness of the time of Pope (p. 367). Browning brought to his work an original and vigorous mind, but he

was not a master of harmony. His *Ring and the Book*, his dramatic sketches of character such as *My Last Duchess* and *Fra Lippo Lippi*, and his songs in *Pippa Passes*, show great creative power. Tennyson has wonderful variety. His *In Memoriam* expresses the sorrow and the faith realized in the presence of grief. In the *Idylls of the King* he applies the legends of King Arthur to the spiritual needs of his own time. His lyrics charm us with their beauty. His odes and ballads reveal him as a sturdy patriot. In the music of his verse he achieved a perfection and range never before equalled in English.

Completion of religious toleration.—The social changes in Britain since the end of the eighteenth century have aided the liberty and comfort of the average man. Freedom of opinion has become complete. After the Catholic Relief Bill of 1829, any one who professed the Christian faith was free to sit in Parliament and to aid in the work of government. In 1854 religious tests were abolished for students entering Oxford and Cambridge; formerly they had been required to subscribe to the tenets of the Church of England. In 1858 Jews were allowed to sit in Parliament. The question at length arose whether a man without any religious creed might be a member of Parliament. An oath on the Bible to perform their duties faithfully was required of all members, but, in 1880, Charles Bradlaugh, member-elect for Northampton, an avowed atheist and a republican, refused to take the oath. For this refusal he was unseated, and when re-elected was expelled from the House by force. Over and over again he was re-elected and as often excluded, until, in 1886, he was allowed to sit in the House without taking any oath. In the end it became clear that no man's private opinions should disqualify him henceforth from taking part in the work of government.

Health.—Increased attention to the **study of nature** marks the modern period. To observe her operations has become an absorbing pursuit, with many practical results. Laws which govern the health of the body have been made clear and disease has been checked, The poor are no longer

permitted to live amidst the filth formerly almost universal. Good drainage, public baths, and a proper water-supply have united to give the pure air and the cleanliness which prevent scourges like cholera from becoming epidemic in Britain. A hundred years ago any one might practice medicine; now severe tests are required for entrance to the medical profession. In former times patients were fully conscious and suffered fearfully during surgical operations; but in 1847 Sir James Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, discovered chloroform, and through the use of this and other anæsthetics, which make the patient temporarily insensible to pain, the skilful operations of modern surgery have been made possible.

Army and Navy.—The two professions of the army and the navy have also become scientific. Quick-firing guns, artillery with a range of many miles, the use of electric signals, and the telephone, have all greatly changed the art of attack and defence. The aeroplane may soon play a great part in the science of war. Steam-power has made more evident Britain's advantage as mistress of the seas, for her superior navy can now use its strength in spite of adverse weather. In 1855, she began to cover the old wooden warships with plate armour. Now warships are built wholly of steel, and the control of their complex mechanism involves a high degree of scientific skill. In the Royal Navy, at the beginning of the modern period, sailors were still flogged for trifling offences. They lived in dark and unsanitary quarters, and were allowed so much rum as to encourage drunkenness; in the army soldiers slept two in a narrow bed, and the food served to them was often scarcely fit to eat. Now, in both services, comfortable quarters and good food are the rule. Yet recent wars have shown that the greater comforts of modern times have not undermined courage or the capacity to bear hardship.

Technical knowledge.—In manufactures superior technical skill is now required. Britain, long secure in her leading position in the world's trade, has not adopted modern changes as rapidly as other countries. Until recently, uni-

versities like Oxford and Cambridge did little for science. In Germany, on the other hand, great skill and industry have been shown in bringing the highest scientific knowledge to bear upon manufactures, and to these efforts is due Germany's more rapid advance in recent years. But many new universities have now been founded in Britain. Every great city, such as Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, has its university. Schools for training in practical science are also numerous, and Britain is recovering lost ground.

Increase of comfort.—Increased knowledge has added greatly to comfort and convenience. So small a thing as the friction match, unknown until the nineteenth century, has proved a great boon. The cottage of the mediæval labourer rarely had even candle-light; now petroleum and gas are in general use for lighting, and electric light is supplied even in small villages. Few houses are so poor as to be without a picture on the wall or a carpet on the floor; and tea, coffee, and tobacco, once luxuries of the rich, are now in use by all classes. Most towns and villages have some kind of free library which makes good reading accessible to all. Improved intelligence has justified itself; the fanatic violence that threatened to destroy London during the madness of the Gordon Riots is now scarcely possible. Friendly societies unite the poor in bonds mutually helpful. The laws which prevented the free organization of the working classes in trade unions have all been swept away, and capital and labour are alike free to protect themselves by all peaceable means.

Softening of manners.—Manners have steadily softened. To expose one's life in a duel was, as late as 1840, still demanded in defence of honour, but in 1844 the War Office imposed heavy penalties upon officers who took part in duels. The next year Roebuck, by bringing the matter up in the House of Commons, forced a fellow-member of Parliament, who had challenged him, to apologize, and the duel disappeared from English life. In the middle of the century the decline of prize-fighting was regarded by many as a mark of the decay of national vigour; now most men

look upon the sport as merely brutal. Fifty years ago, drunkenness caused hardly a reproach; now it results inevitably in failure in business and in public and social life. Hate is a declining factor in politics; politicians passing each other in the street, no longer call out opprobrious names as they sometimes did less than a century ago. Then, too, classes were divided by a great gulf, and noblemen were almost a race apart. In Britain the distinctions of rank are still marked, but the great are now less insolent, the poor less bitter, and rank is a more frequent reward of successful effort than ever before; high posts in the army are no longer closed to the common soldier, and he sometimes becomes a general. Public opinion now insists that those who have power have also responsibility, and a higher sense of duty is observable among the ruling classes; in the present age landlords would not venture to house their tenants as many of them were housed fifty years ago.

Growth of urban population.—Yet the present conditions of life are in some respects unwholesome. The lack of capital in agriculture has been injurious to farmers of small means and has destroyed in England the sturdy yeomen, who, though poor, had the interest of owners in the soil which they tilled. Now those who do this work are usually hired labourers, and so universal is the system that we are apt to forget that a hundred years ago the labourer was often a partner in the products of the farm. Village life has lost some of its old attractions, and the people now flock into the great centres of population. By 1911 these had so increased that more than twenty-seven of the thirty-six millions of people in England and Wales were dwellers in towns. The dense and smoky air and crowded quarters make life in a British city less wholesome than life in a village, and to bring the people back to the land is a present-day problem. A chief difficulty arises from the fact that the facility of transporting food products has drawn to Britain supplies from all parts of the world, and has so lowered prices that agriculture no longer attracts capital by the profits to be earned. British energy is devoted ever more and more

to manufacturing industries; less and less does Britain herself produce the food for her own people. To some this seems a serious danger, but as long as she can by her naval power command sea communications, and, in consequence, supplies, her position is secure.

11. GREATER BRITAIN

The divisions of the Empire.—The British Empire of to-day is a loose union of a large number of states, scattered over the whole surface of the earth. It includes India, almost a continent, with an ancient civilization, and with many different peoples united under the king as emperor, and ruled by a viceroy named by the British cabinet. On the other hand, the Empire includes regions for a long time unpeopled, except by a few barbaric natives, but now in course of settlement by Britons, retaining in their new homes the right of self-government; such regions are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and parts of South Africa. The remaining British possessions are chiefly scattered islands; some, like the West Indian islands, of considerable extent, others, like Malta and St. Helena, held by Britain chiefly as coaling stations and harbours of refuge for the use of her warships and her merchant marine.*

* The population of the British Empire may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. Population almost entirely of European origin:

England and Wales (in 1911)	36,075,269
Scotland "	4,759,445
Ireland "	4,381,951
Canada "	7,200,000
Australia, without aborigines (estimated)	4,200,000
South Africa (estimated)	1,210,000
New Zealand (estimated)	1,000,000
Malta (estimated)	210,000
Europeans in India (estimated)	100,000
West Indies and Bermuda (estimated)	100,000
Gibraltar (estimated)	29,000
Other parts of the Empire, say	34,335

59,300,000

The Dominion of Canada.—Of the self-governing portions of the Empire beyond the limits of the United



JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, EARL OF
DURHAM (1792-1840)

Kingdom, Canada, with more than seven million inhabitants, is the most important, both in numbers and in the incidents of its history. It was French, not English, pioneers who first explored and made known the great lakes, rivers, and mountains of the interior of Canada. In the American Revolution, Britain lost the empire which she herself had founded in North America, and, by a singular turn of fortune, it is the state founded there by France which she now holds. Canada, a new conquest, did not join the American colonies in the revolt against

Britain, but, on the contrary, repelled invasion by them in 1775 (p. 407). A little later, hundreds of persons who had

II. Population almost entirely of other than European origin:

India (estimated).....	300,000,000
Ceylon and Eastern colonies (estimated).....	4,000,000
West Indies (estimated).....	1,800,000
South Africa (estimated).....	7,500,000
British Central Africa (estimated)...	3,000,000
British East Africa (estimated)....	6,800,000
British West Africa (estimated)....	40,000,000
Australasia and islands (estimated)	800,000
Other regions, say.....	200,000
	<hr/> 364,100,000

Total population..... 423,400,000

Some of these figures are estimates based on the census of 1901. Since that date about 6,500,000 people of European origin have been added to the Empire. The population of European origin is now nearly equal to the population of Germany.

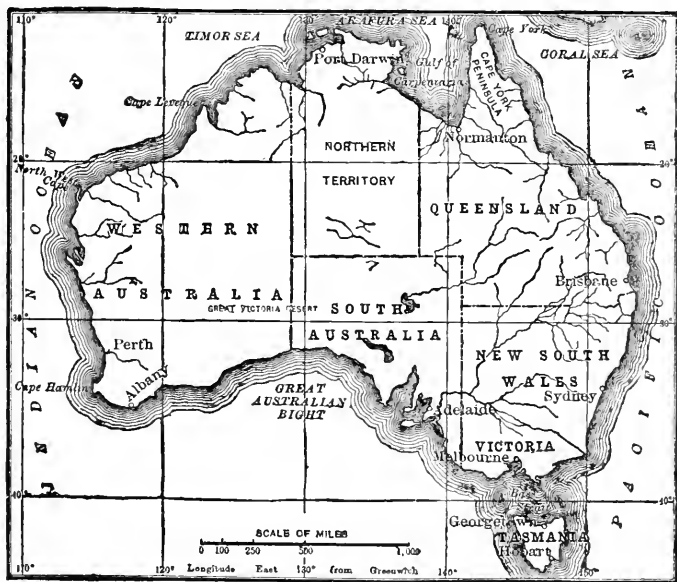
remained loyal to the British crown left the United States to settle in the adjacent British territory. This territory was divided into a number of separate colonies, the chief of which were Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada. Before the end of the eighteenth century there was an elected legislature in each province. We have seen that discontent in Canada had reached the point of armed rebellion in 1837 (p. 473). A policy proposed by Lord Durham was then adopted of uniting the French and the English provinces of Canada under one legislature, but it did not work well. True, it gave Canada complete self-government and led to a similar policy for all the greater British dominions. But the French and the English had different ideals, and each nationality demanded that the ministry of the day should be acceptable to it. The unwritten law was observed that a ministry must have not only a majority in the House, but also a majority of the representatives from each province; and there was a French and an English leader for each of the great political parties. Owing to these jealousies of race and creed, no ministry could stay long in office. The experience of twenty years showed this cumbrous system to be unworkable, and, at last, its complete failure resulted in a plan to include all the provinces of British North America in a new Canadian union. In 1867, by a statute of the British Parliament known as the British North America Act, the Dominion of Canada came into existence; and by 1873 it included the whole of British North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, except Newfoundland.

The growth of Canada.—The Canadian confederation was formed just after the great civil war in the United States, and Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian statesman chiefly responsible for the union, tried to avoid dangers in the federal system revealed by that struggle. He aimed specially to give supremacy to the central government, and to prevent any possibility of an attempt by a Canadian province to break away from the union. Accordingly, limited rights were granted to the pro-

vinces, and all power not thus defined remained with the federal government. The exact opposite of this arrangement is found in the United States, where the federal government has limited powers, while the individual states possess all the undefined powers. To unite the Atlantic and the Pacific portions of Canada, a transcontinental railway was required, and the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885. So rapid has been Canadian development that two other similar lines are now being constructed. Nearly a hundred years of peace—there has been no war since the struggle with the United States ended in 1815—have enabled Canada to take up in earnest the task of developing her own resources. Her main interest is still in agriculture, but she has also great mineral wealth, and the iron and other industries are growing rapidly.

The Colonies of Australia.—The founding of Australia was due, as we have seen, to the American Revolution (p. 410). Soon after Sydney came into being as a convict settlement in 1788, the vast resources of Australia were at length realized. The growing of wool, Australia's great industry, began on a large scale in 1805. The natives, few and weak, gave little trouble, and while the mother country was occupied in the long war with Napoleon, her sons were forming a new nation in the Southern Sea. In Tasmania, a separate island, colonization began in 1805, but Melbourne, the nucleus of the colony of Victoria, and now a city with more than half a million inhabitants, was founded only in 1835. Queensland in the north, with Brisbane as its capital, was not opened to settlement until 1842. Tasmania, Victoria, and Queensland, all daughters of New South Wales, were long subject to the authority of the government at Sydney. But the extensive and not very attractive stretches of the western coast were not within the bounds of New South Wales, and the fear that the French might establish a port on that coast led to a permanent British settlement there in 1825 and, in the end, to the establishment of the colony of Western Australia in 1829. The great inter-

vening and, in some places, very fertile area between Western Australia and New South Wales and the other colonies on the east coast was formed into the immense province of South Australia in 1836. With the exception of the vast and chiefly desert stretch of country known as the Northern Territory, for the time administered by South Australia, this completed the division into six colonies of this immense island. By 1859 the colonies were all entirely independent of each other, and, sharing in the results of the victory for autonomy in Canada, they, too, had almost complete self-government.



MAP OF AUSTRALIA

The natural features of Australia.—The coast line of Australia is singularly unbroken. A cordon of high land lies between the coast and the great basin of the interior, with its vast wastes of arid sand. The mountains of Australia, unlike those of Europe, Asia, and America, are in no case so high as to be permanently snow-capped; there

appear to be few water springs, and the rivers are dependent for their volume, not on melting snow or reservoirs of water underground, but upon the rainfall. In consequence, the Darling is, in wet seasons, a great stream, with more than seven hundred miles of navigable water, but it shrinks in dry weather to small proportions. No great navigable rivers lead to the interior of Australia as the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi lead to the interior of America.

The settlement of Australia.—For years the colonists of Sydney were unable to penetrate beyond the precipices of the Blue Mountains, which shut them in along a narrow strip of coast; but in 1813 adventurous explorers discovered a means of access, and rich grazing lands of the interior then became available. There is still no railway across Australia, and vast tracts of the interior are almost unexplored. Soon after the great inrush of gold-seekers into California in 1849, gold was discovered in Australia also, and in the colony of Victoria in particular, this led to a rapid growth of population. The climate has proved favourable to Europeans. Except in the mountainous districts, frost and snow are unknown, and, owing to the dry air, the heat, though great, is endurable. Emigration from Britain to Australia has now almost ceased, and the country depends upon the rather slow natural increase of population. Ninety-five per cent. of the inhabitants of European origin are of British descent, and already, though the foundations are so recent, a British nation, with two cities of half a million each and with other populous centres, has grown up in the southern hemisphere. It has hardly known the sound of war. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar left Britain so strong upon the sea that no hostile fleet has been able to approach Australia. Even when vast stretches of the coast remained unoccupied, Britain was able to warn off intruders and to make good her claim to the whole country.

The Commonwealth of Australia, 1901.—The Australian colonies followed the example of Canada, not only in securing complete constitutional liberty, but also in per-

ceiving the advantages of federation. In 1900, the British Parliament passed the necessary Act, and on January 1st, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence. It is the second great federal state within the British Empire. The resemblance between the Australian and Canadian systems is marked, especially in the provisions that the ministry of the day is responsible to Parliament, and that an appeal to the electors may take place at any time; but, in some other respects, the newer federation has followed more closely the pattern of the United States. Its divisions are not provinces, but states; it has an elective senate, instead of one appointed by the crown, a House of Representatives instead of a House of Commons; and the states in Australia, as in the United States, retain all the powers not assigned to the federal government, in contrast with Canada where the powers of the provinces are strictly defined.

The Dominion of New Zealand.—The island of Tasmania is a part of Australia, but New Zealand, a thousand miles distant, is a separate colony. Its length of nine hundred miles gives some idea of its extent which, however, is small as compared with that of Australia or Canada. It is an important self-governing state which assumed in 1908, the rank of a "Dominion," no longer to be regarded as a mere colony. The native Maoris, perhaps the most virile race in the South Seas, were fiercely opposed to the coming of the Europeans. In New Zealand life they are still an important element.

The Union of South Africa.—To Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, all important self-governing British states, must be added the Union of South Africa. It has been finally established only after a costly war (p. 509), but is now a great free state within the British Empire.

The Russian Menace to India.—Although the growth of territory, thus outlined, is remarkable, it is even more remarkable that Britain should rule three hundred millions in India, distant from her by about six thousand miles. India represents many nations. In it are highly civilized peoples and also savage tribes. It has fully

two hundred different languages, and a hundred different religions. As we have seen (p. 386), India has been under alien rule from time immemorial. To the mass of the natives, the rule of Britain is strange only in its orderly character. The neighbour in India that Britain most dreads is Russia. The Russian Empire has spread eastward and southward, until now only the independent state of Afghanistan lies between it and the mountain passes leading into northern India. But although the Russian peril has been long in the thoughts of Englishmen in India, the relations between Britain and Russia are now so cordial that no conflict is likely, in the near future, at any rate. The railway now plays a great part in the defence of the north-western frontier, and Britain is in a position to mass troops rapidly at any threatened point.

British rule in India.—British rule has resulted in untold benefits to India, for it has brought law and order out of chaotic disorder and unrest. Native princes still rule Indian states, but Britain controls their foreign affairs and their armies, and the British sovereign is universally recognized as the supreme ruler. Everywhere Britain guarantees liberty of opinion; in this respect the natives of India are as free as the British themselves—a condition hardly found in any other oriental country. “Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity,” said Queen Victoria in assuming the direct government of India in 1858, “and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects.” To this policy Britain has been true, even at risk to herself; for this liberty has sometimes been used to promote sedition. There is a new movement of ideas in this stagnant East, and it is possible that, by encouraging education and independent thought and action, Britain is forging a weapon which may endanger her own rule in the end. No state has hitherto succeeded permanently in the task of governing great dependencies. But, for the present, Britain’s supremacy is secure, and it has brought increased happiness and liberty to those she governs.

The advantageous position of Britain.—The lines upon which further expansion and colonization by the European powers can proceed are now defined with some precision. By the Monroe Doctrine (p. 462), a cardinal feature of the foreign policy of the United States, America is no longer subject to the ambitions of European states; and, in 1890, the chief European powers reached an agreement in regard to spheres of influence in Central and South Africa. In every sea Britain has advantages equalled by no other power. In the Suez Canal and Gibraltar she holds the approaches to the Mediterranean Sea from both the east and the west. The Cape of Good Hope gives her control also of the longer route to the east around Africa. Aden gives her command of the Red Sea, and her influence in the world of Islam has so grown that she rules more Moslems than does the Turk; Mecca itself is not unlikely to fall within her influence. She commands, too, the sea routes of both the Atlantic and the Pacific. Yet, in spite of these advantages, Britain can undoubtedly no longer hope to maintain her old supremacy in the world's trade; the ease with which products are now carried from one country to another has made not only the United States and Germany, but the British colonies themselves, her rivals even in her own home markets. Progress always involves such changes and readjustments, but in influence and wealth Britain still stands in the first rank, and shows no sign of losing her position.

The Unity of the Empire.—A nation's past offers some indication of its future. The growth of political liberty is the most striking feature of Britain's history; and the development of her colonies has proceeded on the lines of her own past. Her sons in the colonies have claimed the liberties secured by their fathers at home. Step by step they have acquired the privileges of self-government, until now the larger colonies are sister nations, who rank as partners of the mother land. But this growth of liberty and independence has not weakened the ties that bind the Empire together. As the colonies have assumed responsi-

bility, they have also realized their unity of interest with Britain. Canada and Australia have begun the creation of navies, and, in time of war, these will, no doubt, join the navy of Great Britain to form one fleet. An Imperial Conference has been established, in which the rulers of the self-governing states of the Empire take counsel together as to their common interests. Never before has the world seen anything like this—a league of free states, preserving complete local independence, but maintaining “one flag, one fleet, one throne,” and acting together as one whole.

TOPICS

I. Britain's share in the Monroe Doctrine. The need for the First Reform Bill and its provisions. The chief measures of the first reformed Parliament.

II. Why England had many poets during the revolutionary period.

III. What Lord Durham effected in Canada. The effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws.

IV. The demands of the People's Charter. The effect on society of steam transportation, cheap newspapers, and cheap postage.

V. Why was the Crimean War mismanaged? What resulted from it?

VI. What led to, and what resulted from, the Indian Mutiny? What was the *Trent* affair and that of the *Alabama*?

VII. What class did the Second Reform Bill benefit? How Britain came to occupy Egypt. What class did the Third Reform Bill benefit?

VIII. The effect of the famine in Ireland. Why the Irish church was disestablished. What was “Tenant Right” and how did the Land Act of 1870 affect it? How did Mr. Gladstone provide for a fair rent? What causes made Home Rule an urgent question in the British Parliament? What did the Land Act of 1903 effect?

IX. Why was the Battle of Omdurman fought? Why did the Boers object to British rule? What led to war in 1899?

X. What caused and what resulted from the struggle to limit the power of the House of Lords?

XI. How federation was brought about in Canada. Compare the climate, resources, and government of Australia and Canada. What British rule has done for India.

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